



3 1761 04298 9004

THE LIFE
OF
SIR WILLIAM WALLACE

DA
783
.3
C3
c. 1
ROBA

Good
175

W195
7c

L I F E

OF

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE,

OF

ELDERSLIE.

BY

JOHN D. CARRICK.

The bugle ne'er sung to a braver knight
Than William of Elderslie.

THOMAS CAMPBELL.

FOURTH EDITION.

111386
20/5/11

GLASGOW:

THOMAS D. MORISON, INGRAM STREET.

MICROFORMED BY
PRESERVATION
SERVICES



DA
783
.3
C3

INTRODUCTION

THERE is no portion of the history of Scotland more embarrassing to modern writers, than the period which relates to the life and achievements of Wallace.

Having been long since anticipated in all the leading details respecting him by Henry the Minstrel, our historians in general seem nervous in approaching the subject; and have either contented themselves with such materials as the old English writers and certain monastic chronicles have furnished, or have deliberately borrowed, without the grace of acknowledgment, the facts recorded by an author they affected to despise, as one whom the learned were not agreed to admit within the pale of respectable authority. This treatment, however, we conceive to be not only unfair, but rather discourteous in those who may have extended their suffrages to writers guilty of much greater aberrations from historical veracity than any which are chargeable against him. It is true, that the works of those writers are in Latin; but still, we do not see that a great falsehood, told in the classical language of ancient Rome, should be entitled to a larger portion of public faith than a lesser one set forth in the more modern *patois* of Scotland.

When Walsingham, in describing the battle of Falkirk, tells us that the sharpness and strength of the English arrows were such, that "they thoroughly penetrated the men-at-arms, obscured the helmets, perforated the swords, and overwhelmed the lances (*ut ipsos armatos omnino penetrarent, cassides tenebrarent, gladios perforarent, lanceas funderent*)—and another learned author*, in narrating the same battle, makes the loss of the Scots in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amount to more in number than were disposed of in any one of the most sanguinary conflicts between the Roman and Barbaric worlds,—we would naturally expect, that the indulgence which can readily attribute such outrages on our credulity, to the style of the age in which the writers lived, might also be extended to our Minstrel, even when he describes his hero "like a true knight-errant, cleaving his foes through brawn and bayne down to the shoulders."

It is said by Lord Hailes, in speaking of Henry, that "he is an author whom every historian copies, yet no historian but Sir Robert Sibbald will venture to quote." This, though intended as a sneer by the learned annalist, may be viewed as complimentary to the candour of Sir Robert, who, while he avails himself of the facts related by another, is not above acknowledging the obligation. Considering the situation of this unfortunate but ingenious man, no author had ever a stronger claim on the indulgence of his readers. Blind from his birth, he was deprived of the advantage of correcting the manuscript of his work, while his poverty prevented him from procuring an amanuensis capable of doing justice to his talents. Hence we find a number of errors and omissions, that from the ease with which they can be rectified, appear evidently the faults of transcribers. Succeeding historians, far from making the allowance which his case demanded, have acted towards him with a degree of peevish hostility exceedingly unbecoming. Because his dates do not always correspond with the transactions he records, he has been termed a "liar," a "fabulist," "a man blind in more respects than one;" with other appellations no less unworthy of themselves than unmerited by him. When it is considered that there is no circumstance connected with Wallace mentioned by subsequent writers, but what had already found a place in the work of the Minstrel;—that they had no other story to give than what he had previously given;—and that they must either repeat what he had already stated, or remain silent; we are led to conclude, that he could not have so effectually pre-occupied the ground, without having very complete information regarding the subject of his biography. This information, he tells us himself, was derived from a memoir written in Latin by John Blair, assisted by Thomas Gray, the former chaplain to Wallace, and the latter parson of Liberton, both eye-witnesses of the transactions they relate. It follows, therefore, that Scottish authors, having obtained, in a great measure, their information respecting Wallace from the pages of Blind Harry, their characters, as historians, become seriously involved with the fate of him whom they have so unceremoniously vituperated. Under these circumstances, it appears a very proper subject of inquiry, to ascertain whether he has, or has not executed his task with becoming fidelity. Were the memoir of Blair extant, this matter could very soon be determined; but having long since disappeared, doubts are now entertained of its ever having been in existence. Sir Robert Sibbald has published a few fragments, entitled *Relationes quædam Arnaldi Blair, Monachi de Dumfermelini, et Capellani D. Willielmi Wallas, Militis, 1327*. Though these are merely transcripts

* Hemingford says, that there were *fifty thousand slain*, many drowned, and *three hundred thousand foot* taken prisoners, besides a thousand horsemen.

from the Scotichronicon of Fordun, yet some have supposed them to have been the groundwork on which Blind Harry founded his poem. This opinion, however, can scarcely be maintained save by those who have only seen the title ; the most superficial inspection will be sufficient to induce a very different conclusion. Arnold Blair may have, on some occasion, officiated as chaplain to Wallace, and, proud of the distinction, in imitation of his namesake, may have made the ill-arranged excerpts from Fordun, for the purpose of handing down his own name in connection with that of the illustrious defender of his country : but the confident manner in which Henry refers to *his* author, as evidence of facts which are not alluded to, even in the most distant manner, in the work of Arnold, shows the impossibility of its being the foundation of his narrative ; for we cannot suppose that an author, wishing to pass off a tissue of fables for a series of truths, would act with so much inconsistency, as to court detection by referring for authority to a quarter where he was sure of finding none. When Henry introduced his translation to the public, the approbation with which it was received may very justly be viewed as the test of its correctness, there being no scarcity of men in the country capable of collating it with the original, and detecting the imposition, if any existed ; and it may therefore reasonably be inferred, that the excellency of the translation was such as to supersede the original ; being, from its language, more accessible to all classes than the other, which, on that account, was more likely to go into desuetude, and ultimately to disappear.

The character of Minstrel which has been attached to Henry,—joined to the vulgar and disgusting translation of his work into modern Scotch, by Hamilton of Gilbertfield,—has, it is presumed, injured his reputation as a historian, more than any deviation he has made from the authentic records of the country. No other work of his exists, or is known to have existed, which might entitle him to rank as a minstrel ; but being called upon—and possibly compelled by circumstances—to recite his translation in the presence of the great, he received a minstrel's reward, and became, perhaps improperly, confounded with the profession.

Had Barbour, Wyntown, Langtoft, and other authors, who wrote their chronicles in rhyme, been quoted by subsequent writers as minstrels, it would no doubt have weakened their authority as historians. These men, however, professed to give, though in verse, a faithful register of the transactions of their country. Henry seems to have had only the same object in view ; and thus endeavours to impress the reader with the fidelity of the translation, and the disinterestedness of his motives.

“ Off Wallace lyff quha has a forthar feill,
 May schaw furth mair with wit and eloquence ;
 For I to this haiff don my diligence,
 Eftyr the pruff geyffyn fra the Latyn buk,
 Quhilk Maister Blayr in his tym wndyrtruk,
 In fayr Latyn compild il till ane end ;
 With thir witnes the mar is to commend.
 Byschop Syncler than lord was off Dunkell,
 He gat this buk, and confermd it him sell
 For werray true ; thar off he had no dreid,
 Himselff had seyng gret part off Wallace deid.
 His purpos was till haue send it to Rom,
 Our fadyr off kyrk tharon to gyff his dom.
 Bot Maister Blayr, and als Schir Thomas Gray,
 Eftir Wallace thar lestit mony day,
 Thir twa knew best of gud Schir Wilyhamys deid,
 Fra sexteyn yer quhill nyne and twenty yeid.
 Fourty and fyve off age, Wallace was cauld,
 That tym that he was to [the] Southeroun sauld.
 Thocht this mater be nocht till all plesance,
 His suthfast deid was worthi till awance.

All worthi men at redys this rural dyt,
 Blaym nocht the buk, set I be wnperfyt.
 I suld hawe thank, sen I nocht trawail spard ;
 For my labour na man hecht me reward ;
 Na charge I had off king nor othir lord ;
 Gret harm I thoct his gud deid suld be smord.
 I haiff said her ner as the process gais ;
 And fenyeid nocht for frendschip nor for fais.
 Costis herfor was no man bond to me ;
 In this sentence I had na will to be,
 Bot in als mekill as I raherist nocht
 Sa worthly as nobill Wallace wrocht.
 Bot in a poynt, I grant, I said amys,
 Thir twa knyctis suld blamyt be for this,
 The knycht Wallas, off Cragge rycht wyss lord,
 And Liddaill als, gert me mak [wrag] record.
 On Allyrtoun mur the croun he tuk a day,
 To get battaill, as myn autour will say.
 Thir twa gert me say that ane othir wyss ;
 Till Maister Blayr we did sumpart off dispyss.”

Buke Eleventh, v. 1410—1450.

What more can an author say to satisfy his reader of the purity of his intentions, as well as of the genuineness of the source from whence he has drawn his materials ? Without reward, or promise of reward, he appears to have undertaken his task from the purest feelings of patriotism, and finished it before he experienced any of the fostering influence of patronage. That the transactions he relates are substantially correct, or at least such as were generally believed to be so at the time he wrote, we have the evidence of one nearly cotemporary. Major thus expresses himself* : “ Henry, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my infancy composed the *whole Book of William Wallace* ; and committed to writing in vulgar poetry, in which he was well skilled, the things that were commonly related of him. For my own part, I give only partial credit to writings of this description. By the recitation of these however, in the presence of men of the highest rank, he procured, as he indeed deserved, food and raiment.” Though Major says nothing of Blair's Memoirs, yet he frees Henry from the charge of relating any thing that was not previously believed by his countrymen.

Thomas Chambers, in his History of the House of Douglas, says, “ These things fell out in the year 1298 ; which passages, as the most part of actions done in the time of Sir William Wallace, are either passed over, or slenderly touched by the writers of our chronicles, although the truth thereof be unquestionable, being related by those eye-witnesses who wrote the diary or history of Sir William

Wallace in Latin, which is paraphrastically turned into English rhyme, the interpreter expressing the main body of the story very truly; howsoever, missing or mistaking some circumstances, he differeth therein from the Latin.* From the manner in which this is expressed, it may be supposed that Chambers had seen the original. If this could be established, his testimony would be of considerable importance. Nicholson, Archdeacon of Carlisle, in his Scottish Historical Library, says, that the names of the great northern Englishmen, whom Henry represents Wallace as having been engaged with, such as Sir Gerard Heron, Captain Thirlwall, Morland, Martindale, &c. are still well known on the borders of Cumberland and Northumberland. The reader may also find, by the Statistical Account of Scotland, that the localities mentioned in the poem, are given with a precision beyond the reach of one labouring under the infirmity of blindness.

The invasion of Lorn by MacFadyan and a horde of Irish, at the instigation of Edward, is a circumstance unnoticed by any historian, save the translator of Blair; and were it not for the undoubted evidence, arising from traditions still preserved among a people who never heard of the work of the Minstrel, it might be considered as the mere creation of his own fancy. But such decided testimony in favour of the correctness of his statement, when taken in connexion with the accurate manner in which he has described the advance of Wallace through a country, respecting the intricacies of which he, of himself, could form no idea—the near approach he has made to the Celtic names of the places, which can still be distinctly traced—and the correct description he has given of the grand scene of action on the Awe,—are sufficient to stamp the impress of truth on his narrative, and satisfy any one of the impossibility of a man, situated as he was, ever being able to accomplish it without the diary of an eyewitness.

After the defeat of MacFadyan, Wallace is represented as holding a council or meeting with the chieftains of the West Highlands, in the Priory of Ardhattan. The ruins of the Priory are still to be found on the banks of Loch Etive, a few miles from the scene of strife; and among the rubbish, as well as in the neighbouring grounds, coins of Edward I. have at different times been dug up, in considerable quantities. So late as March, 1829, the following paragraph appeared in the Glasgow Herald:—"In digging a grave, a few days ago at Balvodan (or St. Modan's), a burial-place in the neighbourhood of the Priory of Ardhattan, Argyllshire, a number of ancient silver coins were found, in a remarkably fine state of preservation. The place where they had been deposited was about four feet below the surface; and they seem to have been contained in an earthen vessel, which mouldered into dust, on exposure to the atmosphere; they were turned up by the shovel, as those who were attending the interment were surrounding the grave, and each of the party present having picked up a few, the rest were, by the Highlanders, returned with the earth to the grave. The coins were struck in the reign of the First Edward, whose name can be distinctly traced on them; and they were probably placed there at the time, when that monarch had succeeded in getting temporary possession of the greater part of Scotland. In that case they must have lain where they were found for upwards of five hundred years." The writer had an opportunity of examining a number of these coins on the spot; he found a great many of them to be struck in Dublin, and they seemed below the regular standard. Though numerous discoveries have been made of the coins of this ambitious monarch in other parts of Scotland, yet in the West Highlands they are extremely rare. Neither Edward, nor any of his English generals, ever penetrated so far in that direction. It is, therefore, highly probable, that the above money may have formed part of the contents of the military chest of MacFadyan, which, in that superstitious age, had found its way into the hands of the priesthood.

Although Henry cannot be collated with his original, the truth or falsehood of his narrative may, in part, be ascertained by comparing him with those who preceded him on the same subject. The most reputable of these writers, and those whose characters for veracity stand highest in the estimation of the learned, are John de Fordun, and Andro de Wyntown, both original historians; for, though Wyntown outlived Fordun, he had not an opportunity of seeing his history. With respect to Fordun's agreement with the Minstrel, the reader has the evidence of Nicholson, Archdeacon of Carlisle, who says, that "Hart's edition of Wallace contains a preface which confirms the whole of it out of the *Scoti-Chronicon*†." Wyntown, who finished his history in 1424, being about forty-six years before Henry, in alluding to those deeds of Wallace which he had left *unrecorded*, says,

"Of his gud Dedis and Manhad
Gret Gestis; I hard say, ar made;
Bot sá mony, I trow noucht,
As he in-till hys daxis wroucht.

Quha all hys Dedis of prys wald dyte,
Hym worthyd a gret Buk to wryte;
And all thái to wryte in here
I want báthe Wyt and gud Laysere."

B. viii. c. xv. v. 79-86.

The first couplet may allude to Blair's Diary, or perhaps to Fordun's History, which he had no doubt heard of; and, in the succeeding lines, he doubts that however much may have been recorded, it must still fall very short of what was actually performed. This is so far satisfactory, from one who lived almost within a century of the time, and who no doubt often conversed with those whose fathers had fought under the banners of Wallace; it is a pity that his modesty, and his want of "gud laysere," prevented him from devoting more of his time to so meritorious a subject. The first transaction which he has narrated, is the affair at Lanark; but it is evident from what he says, that Wallace must have often

* Appendix to Blair's *Relationes* in the Library of the College of Glasgow.
† Scottish Historical Library, p. 68. quarto ed.

before mingled in deadly feud with the English soldiers, and done them serious injury; otherwise, it would be difficult to account for their entertaining towards him the degree of animosity expressed in the following lines:—

“Gret Dyspyte thir Ingliš men
Had at this Willame Walays then.
Swá that made thame on á day
Hym for to set in hard assay:”

B. viii. c. xiii. v. 19-22.

Every particular that Wyntown gives of the conflict which ensues, in consequence of this preconcerted quarrel on the part of the English, is detailed in the account of the Minstrel with a degree of correctness, leaving no room to doubt that either the two authors must have drawn their materials from the same source, or that Henry, having heard Wyntown's version of the story, considered it so near the original as to leave little to be corrected. The language, as will be seen from the following examples, is nearly the same:

“Twelf hundyre nynty yere and sewyn
Frá Cryst wes borne the Kyng of Hewyn.”

B. viii. c. xiii.

Henry thus enters upon the same subject—

“Tuelf hundreth yer, tharto nynté and sewyn,
Fra Cryst wes born the rychtwiss king off hewyn.”

“*Buke Sext*,” 107, 108.

Wyntown gives the following dialogue, as having taken place between Wallace and an athletic guy belonging to the English garrison of Lanark, who, when surrounded by his companions, made “a Tyt at hys sword:”

W. “Hald stytle thi hand, and spek thi worde.”
I. “Wyth thi Swerd thow máis gret bost.”
W. “Tharefor thi Dame made lytil cost.”
I. “Quhat caus has thow to were the Grene?”
W. “Ná caus, bot for to make the Tene.”
I. “Thow suld noucht bere så fare a Knyf.”

W. “Swà sayd the Preyst, that, swywyd thi Wyf:
Swà lang he cald that Woman fayr,
Quhill that his Barne wes made thi Ayre.”
I. “Me-thynk thow drywys me to scorne.”
W. “Thi Dame wes swywyd or thow wes borne.”

B. viii. c. xiii. 23-38.

The similarity of Henry's version is too apparent to be the effect of chance. After a little *badinage*, which does not appear in Wyntown, he says,

“Ma Sotheroune men to thaim assemblit ner.
Wallace as than was laith to mak a ster.
Ane maid a scrip, and tyt at his lang suorde:
'Hald still thi hand,' quod he, 'and spek thi word.'
'With thi lang suerd thow makis mekill bost.'
'Tharoff,' quod he, 'thi deme maid litill cost.'
'Quhat caus has thow to wer that gudlye greyne?—'
'My maist caus is bot for to mak the teyne.'

'Quhat suld a Scot do with sa fair a knyff?—'
'Sa said the prest that last janglyt thi wyff;
'That woman lang has tillit him so fair,
'Quhill that his child, worthit to be thine ayr.'
'Me think,' quod he, 'thow drywys me to scorn.'
'Thi deme has beyne japyt or thow was born.'

“*Buke Sext*,” 141-154.

The parties soon come to blows; and, in the conflict, Wallace cut off the hand of one of his opponents. Wyntown thus takes notice of the circumstance.

“As he wes in that Stowre fechtand,
Frá ane he strak swne the rycht hand;
And frá that Carle mycht do ná mare,
The left hand held fast the Buklare,
And he swá mankyd, as brayne-wode,
Kest fast wyth the Stwmp the Blode

In-til Willame Walays face:
Mare cumryd of that Blode he was,
Than he was a welle lang qwhile
Feychtand stad in that peryle.”

B. viii. c. xiii. 47-56.

Henry narrates the anecdote with little variation.

“Wallace in stour wes cruelly fechtand;
Fra a Sotheroune he smat off the rycht hand:
And quhen that carle off fechtyn mycht no mar,
With the left hand in ire held a bukлар.

Than fra the stowmp the blud out spurgyt fast,
In Wallace face aboundandlye can out cast;
In to great part it marryt him off his sight.”

“*Buke Sext*,” 163-169.

The escape of Wallace by means of his mistress—her murder by order of the sheriff—his return the ensuing night—with the slaughter of the sheriff—are particularly taken notice of by Wyntown. Henry's translation includes all these occurrences, and only differs by being more circumstantial. The account of the battle of Falkirk agrees in numerous instances. The covenant between Cumming and Bruce, which Henry states to have taken place near Stirling, is corroborated in place and circumstance by Fordun, Wyntown, and Barbour. The hanging of Sir Bryce Blair, and Sir Ronald Crawford in a barn at Ayr, is confirmed by the last mentioned writer, although he does not descend to particulars.

These, and many other instances may be added, to show, that, though Henry or his authority may have occasionally indulged in the marvellous, yet the general outline of his history, and even many of

the particulars, are in strict accordance with truth ; and the work itself necessarily becomes not only valuable as a depository of ancient manners, but as containing matter which, if properly investigated, may be useful to the historian. Whether the apocryphal part—and which, it must be allowed, is considerable—ought to be attributed to the fancy of the translator, or if it formed a portion of the original text, we have no means of ascertaining. From the frequent and apparent sincerity, however, with which Henry appeals to his “actor,” and the value he seems to attach to a faithful discharge of his task, we might be led to infer, that if it were practicable to collate his performance with the memoir of Blair, the rendering of it would be found unexceptionable. Under these circumstances, the writer of the following narrative has not scrupled to avail himself of such statements as appeared entitled to credit ; and, though he cannot consider the Minstrel as deserving the same degree of confidence as Wyntown or Barbour, yet, when he finds him consistent and characteristic, he conceives it would be unjust to suspect falsehood in every instance, where he does not happen to be supported by the respectable testimonies already enumerated. That he is more circumstantial than any of the Scottish historians, is easily accounted for, by his attention, or rather that of his author, being engrossed by the actions of one individual. A degree of minuteness is in this case adopted, which would be altogether incompatible with the plan of a general historian.

These remarks it has been deemed necessary to make in defence of one to whom we are indebted for the only original memoir of the greatest hero, and purest patriot, Scotland or any other country ever produced ; an author, however, who, instead of having the merits of his work fairly appreciated, has been vilified and abused by those who, in their zeal for establishing new historical creeds, have found it a matter of less labour to *sneer* than to *investigate*.

The sources from whence the present writer has drawn his materials, will, it is hoped, be found such as are generally entitled to credit. Being of opinion that the authors who lived nearest the period under review ought to be best informed respecting the transactions connected with it, he has therefore endeavoured to collate as many ancient Scottish and English authorities as possible. The biographical notices of such Englishmen as figured in the Scottish wars, are chiefly drawn from the historians of England ; conceiving that it belongs to the writers of a country to be best acquainted with the details of its internal and domestic history ; but to enumerate the authorities he has consulted, would here be superfluous, as they are duly noted at the proper stages of the narrative.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
CHAPTER I.			
State of Scotland in the Thirteenth Century.....	1	Glasgow—Wallace captures the Baggage of Percy—Retires to Lennox—Various Rencounters with the English	29
CHAPTER II.		CHAPTER VII.	
On the Claim of England to the Feudal Homage of Scotland.....	7	Singular Adventure of Wallace in Gask Castle—Kills the English Leader—Escapes to Torwood—Interview with his Uncle.....	35
CHAPTER III.		CHAPTER VIII.	
Birth, Parentage, and Early Years of Wallace.....	13	Wallace joined by Sir John Graham—Proceedings in Clydesdale—Wallace visits Lanark—Adventure with a Party of the English.....	38
CHAPTER IV.		CHAPTER IX.	
Accession of Baliol—Siege of Berwick—Battle of Dunbar	18	Attack on Crawford Castle—Return to Lanark—Conflict with the English—Murder of the Heiress of Lamington—Her death revenged—The English driven out of Lanark—Battle of Biggar—Atrocious Proceedings of the English at Ayr—Severe retaliation by Wallace	40
CHAPTER V.		CHAPTER X.	
Wallace again takes refuge in the Woods—Organizes a System of Warfare—Harasses the English in their Cantonments—Conflict of Beg—Biographical Notices of his early Companions—His Dress and Armour—Anecdote of the relative personal Prowess of Wallace and Bruce.....	22	Affair of Glasgow—Defeat and Flight of Bishop Bek—Wallace joined by a number of the Barons—Expedition to the West Highlands—Battle of Bradher, and Death of M'Fadyan.....	42
CHAPTER VI.			
Peel of Gargunock taken by the Scots—The Bradfutes of Lamington oppressed by the English—The Orphan of Lamington—Sir Raynald Crawford summoned to			

CHAPTER XI.	PAGE	PAGE	
Robert Bruce joins the Standard of Wallace—Percy and Clifford sent to suppress the Insurrection—Night Skirmish in Annandale—Disaffection of the Scottish Nobles—Wallace retires to the North—Battle of Stirling Bridge.....	46	Scotland—Submission of the Nobles—Wallace returns—Conflicts with the English—Edward destroys and carries off the Records of the Monasteries—Marches through the Country—Wallace follows the Invaders..... 77	
CHAPTER XII.		CHAPTER XXI.	
Wallace appointed Guardian of the Kingdom—Invades England—Inroad of De Clifford on the South of Scotland.....	51	Edward's Policy respecting the Settlement of Scotland—Endeavours to gain Wallace to his interest—Siege of Stirling—Its surrender—Conduct of Edward towards the Prisoners—Haliburton undertakes to betray Wallace.....	81
CHAPTER XIII.		CHAPTER XXII. <td></td>	
Wallace returns to Scotland—Enviy by the Nobility—Edward lands in England—Wallace meets his Army at Stanmore—Battle of Blackironside—Legality of Wallace's Regency—Edward invades Scotland—Treachery of two Scottish Noblemen.....	54	State of the Country—Bruce invited to take the Crown—Conduct of Cumyn towards Bruce—Notice of Cumyn—Tradition respecting the Clan Cumyn—Notice of Kerle—Wallace betrayed by Menteith.....	84
CHAPTER XIV.		CHAPTER XXIII. <td></td>	
The English Army advance to Linlithgow—Battle of Falkirk, from the Accounts given by English and Scottish Writers—Miscellaneous Transactions.....	58	Trial, Execution, and Character of Wallace.....	87
CHAPTER XV.		CHAPTER XXIV. <td></td>	
Notices respecting Sir John Graham and Sir John Stewart—Conduct of Cumyn—Wallace resigns the Guardianship—Edward returns home—Triumphant Procession of the Londoners in honour of his Victory at Falkirk—Review of the Campaign.....	64	Conclusion.....	90
CHAPTER XVI.		APPENDIX. <td></td>	
State of Scotland after the Return of Edward—Opinion of an English Spy on the Strength of Dumbarton Castle—Various Exploits of Wallace—Edward sends Supplies to the Garrison of Stirling—List of Articles sent—Baliol delivered over to the Pope—The Scots besiege Stirling Castle—Edward raises an Army for its Relief—The English Barons refuse to accompany him—Surrender of Stirling Castle—Conduct of Cumyn.....	67	A. Wallace's Tree—Torwood..... 96	
CHAPTER XVII.		B. The Crawfurds..... 97	
Edward again invades Scotland—Siege of Carlarverock—Miscellaneous Occurrences during the Siege.....	69	C. The Burning of the Barns of Ayr..... 98	
CHAPTER XVIII.		D. Memoir of Bishop Anthony Bek..... 99	
Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, reads a Bull from the Pope, in the English Camp before Carlarverock—Edward's Answer—Earl Warren advances to Irvine—Cruelty of the English at Lesmahago—Edward agrees to a Truce—Wallace visits France—Captures a French Pirate—Notices of Longueville.....	72	E. Expedition to the West Highlands..... 102	
CHAPTER XIX.		F. Memoir of John, Earl of Warren—Lord Henry de Percy—And Lord Robert de Clifford..... 108	
Edward again invades Scotland—Sir Simon Frazer deserts the English, and joins his Countrymen—Wallace returns to Scotland—Battle of Roslin.....	76	G. Hugh de Cressingham..... 112	
CHAPTER XX.		H. Original Letter from Sir William Wallace and Sir Andrew Murray..... ib.	
Second Visit of Wallace to the French Court—Encounters an English Pirate—The English again enter		I. Memoir of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar..... 114	
		K. Charter of Protection granted to the Prior and Convent of Hexceldsham..... 115	
		L. On the intention of Edward to curtail the Power of his Barons..... 116	
		M. The Setons..... ib.	
		N. Memoir of Fitz-Marmaduke..... 117	
		O. Memoir of Brian Fitz-Allan..... ib.	
		P. Memoir of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke.. 118	
		Q. Memoir of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln..... 121	
		R. Memoirs of Richard Siward and Walter de Huntercombe..... 122	
		S. Memoir of Sir Simon Frazer..... 124	
		T. Extracts from the Wardrobe Accounts..... 127	
		U. Trial of Wallace..... 128	
		X. On the Martyrdom of Wallace..... ib.	
		Y. On the Personal Appearance of Wallace..... 130	
		Z. Reminiscence of Wallace..... 131	
		AA. Wallace's Descendants..... 132	
		BB. On the Treachery of Menteith..... 133	
		CC. Singular Legend..... 136	
		DD. Verses on the Death of Wallace..... ib.	

LIFE

OF

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF SCOTLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

THE scanty and imperfect records which exist respecting the early state of Scotland, have been a fruitful source of complaint to all writers who have applied themselves to the investigation of her history. Those, however, who would form an estimate of her relative situation and internal resources, by reference to her condition at the time she became allied to England on the accession of James VI., would arrive at very erroneous conclusions on the subject.

That Scotland retrograded under the dynasty of the Stuarts, few, who are conversant with her early history, will be inclined to deny. But, without inquiring how far the incapacity or imprudence of that unfortunate race may have contributed to her decline, the writer will endeavour to arrange a few remarks respecting the above-mentioned period, for the benefit of those readers whose attention may not have been directed to that interesting portion of our annals.

The jurisprudence of Scotland, like that of the other states of Europe, embraced the feudal system in all its degrees of servitude, from the knightly devoirs of the baron, down to the humble and more laborious task of the bondsman, who could be either put to death at the will of his over-lord, or bartered away to the church, for a certain number of masses. Yet though this state of society existed to a considerable extent, there were some privileged classes exempt from its more degrading operation. The most influential of these, as might be expected, were the priesthood, who, as soon as admitted to orders, became emancipated from their temporal bondage*.

Merchants and burghesses were of course free. Had this not been the case, those useful classes could not have existed, as the control of the feudal superior over the *ascriptos glebeæ*, extended not only to an absolute property in themselves and

their offspring, but also over any means they might accumulate. When a bondsman, therefore, bought a burghage, and remained a year and a day in a burgh, without being molested or claimed by his lord, he became a free man for ever*.

Another useful portion of society is to be found in our records under the name of *liberi firmarii*, or free yeomanry, the formation of which, it is presumed, may be attributed in a great measure to the ecclesiastical establishments. The clergy, from their superior education, were wiser, in their generation, than their neighbours; and instead of allowing the produce of their lands to be eaten up by hordes of idle serfs, they preferred letting them at a valuation to industrious free men, whom they encouraged by the immunities which they had it in their power to grant. These free men were generally the descendants of the clergy, the younger sons of gentlemen, or burghesses possessed of small capitals. From this judicious management, the church lands were always the best cultivated, and consequently the most productive in the country.

At an early period the maritime towns were frequented by foreigners, and the productions of almost every clime were to be found in Scotland. By an Act of Alexander III.†, it appears that the trade of the country had rather declined during his minority; the causes of which are stated to have been, captures by pirates, shipwrecks on the coast, storms at sea, and detentions on slight grounds in various ports and places. In order, therefore, to revive the foreign commerce of the kingdom, and give the necessary security and facility to transactions with strangers, all the lieges were strictly prohibited from interfering with the said traffic, except the burghesses at the different ports. This regulation gave confidence to foreigners, by bringing them into immediate contact with a description of men, with whom reciprocal advantages would naturally beget and maintain a friendly understanding‡.

* Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 324.

† Fordun, vol. ii. lib. x. cap. 42.

‡ Fordun, vol. ii. lib. x. cap. 42.—If we compare the following provisions of an act put forth by Edward I., with the above-mentioned enactment, some idea may be formed respecting the views entertained by the two British monarchs, on the subject of foreign commercial intercourse. "It is ordained, that no fishmonger shall have any partnership with a stranger who brings fish from sea to the city;

The consequence of this liberal policy was soon felt; and before the year expired, vessels from all quarters made their appearance in the Scottish harbours, willing to exchange their cargoes for the productions of the country; and in the course of a few years Scotland exhibited a very flourishing appearance, abounding in money and wealth of every description. The Flemings, whom the English had expelled, found protection and encouragement in Scotland, and were allowed to fortify their factory at Berwick, called "The Red Hall," under condition of their defending it to the last extremity against the enemies of that kingdom. This engagement, as will be seen, they afterwards nobly performed.

A number of wealthy Lombards, jealous perhaps of their rivals the Flemings, now made application to the government of Scotland for permission to erect similar establishments in various parts of the country, particularly at Queensferry and other stations on the Forth,—craving, at the same time, certain spiritual privileges. The States of the kingdom acceded at once to their request, in so far as they regarded trade; but as the Lombards were the vassals of the Pope, they prudently declined mixing up any ecclesiastical matters with affairs of commerce. In the mean time, the unfortunate death of the king put an end to the negotiation. Fordun, who narrates the circumstance, does not condescend on the nature of the spiritual privileges required. It is highly probable, however, that they consisted in their being admitted into Scotland on the same terms which they enjoyed in England and other European states, where they were recognised in a special manner as "the Pope's merchants," and were intrusted by him with the receiving and remitting the immense revenues which were drawn from every country where their Holy Father's supremacy was acknowledged. Trade, with them, was often a secondary consideration. Lending of money, for which they exacted enormous usury, constituted the most lucrative part of their operations; and in these nefarious transactions, it has been conjectured, that they were often commissioned to employ the funds belonging to the Holy See, whose bulls were frequently issued in their favour, when their crimes or rapacity had aroused the vengeance of the governments under which they resided*. Their severity to their debtors, made them known by the name of *Coursini*; and they at last became generally obnoxious for their extortion. If the account given of them by Matthew Paris may be relied on, the caution of the Scots respecting the admission of such harpies into the country was highly commendable.

The great mart for foreign commerce in the kingdom, previous to 1296, appears to have been Berwick. The importance of this place was con-

but let them seek for fish in their own ships, and permit foreigners to bring it and sell, when they come in their own ships. Because, by such partnerships, they who are of the city, and have known the state of the city, and the defect of victuals, will hold the fish at a dearer rate than foreigners, who shall not have known it; and also, that they who are of the city, when they cannot sell, as they will lay it up in cellars, and sell it dearer than the strangers would do, if they came without partnership, and knew not where they might be harboured."—Lambert's *Historical Survey of London*, vol. i. p. 156, 157.

* *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 467.

siderable. Even in the reign of Malcolm IV., it possessed more ships than any other town in Scotland, and was exposed, from its wealth, to visits from the piratical fleets of the Norwegians. In 1156, a ship belonging to a citizen, called Knut the Opulent, and having his wife on board, was taken by Erlend, Earl of Orkney; but it is recorded Knut hired fourteen ships, with a competent number of men, for which he paid one hundred merks of silver, and went in pursuit of the pirate, who had anchored for the night at one of the adjacent islands*.

The wealth and importance of this ancient emporium of commerce, became so great in the reign of Alexander II., as to excite the admiration of contemporary authors, one of whom calls it a "second Alexandria;" and eulogizes the inhabitants for the extent of their donations to religious houses. "But we have," says Macpherson, in his *Annals of Commerce*, "better authority than the voice of panegyric, for the prosperity of Berwick; as we find the customs of it assigned by King Alexander to a merchant of Gascoigne for 2,197*l.* 8*s.* sterling—a sum equal to 32,961 bolls of wheat, at the usual price of sixteen pennies †."

In the years 1283 and 1284, Robert Durham the Mayor, together with Simon Martel, and other good men of Berwick, enacted the *Statute of the Gilt*.

"By c. 20, none but gild-brothers were permitted to buy hides, wool, or wood-fells, in order to sell them again, or cut cloth, except foreign merchants.

"C. 22. 37. and 44. Herrings and other fish, corn, beans, peas, salt, and coals ‡, were ordered to be sold 'at the bray,' along side the vessel bringing them, and no where else; and they were not to be carried on shore when the sun was down. Any burgher who was present at a purchase of herrings, might claim a portion of them for his own consumption, at the original cost.

"C. 27. Brokers were elected by the community of the town, and their names registered. They paid annually a tun (*dolium*) of wine for their license;"—a proof that their business must have been lucrative.

"C. 28. No regrator was allowed to buy fish, hay, oats, cheese, butter, or other articles brought into the town for sale, till the bell rung.

"The government of the town was declared to be by a mayor, four provosts (*prepositis*), and twenty-four councillors," &c.

In 1283, when Edward was preparing for his

* Torfæi *Orædes*, lib. i. cap. 4.

† *Chron. of Lanercoste*. See Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 446. In 1282, the customs of England were farmed by Bonricini, Guidicon, and Co., of Lucca, and the sum realized, from Easter 1281 till Easter 1282, netted 841*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* The money, it may be observed, at this time, was the same in both countries.—*Madox, History of the Exchequer*, c. 23. fo. 1.

‡ The use of coal as fuel was very early known in Scotland. By a charter, dated in April, 1291, William de Ober-vill granted liberty to the monks of Dunfermline to dig coal for their own use in his lands of Pittencreeff, but upon no account to sell any, (*Chart. in Statist. Account of Scotland*, vol. xiii. p. 469.) By this restriction, it would seem that the proprietor not only set a value on the sale of coal, but also that the monks of those days were in the habit of improving their resources, by trafficking in tempora as well as in spiritual matters.

invasion of Wales, he commissioned one John Bishop, a Burgess of Lynne, to purchase merchandise (*mercimonia*) for him in Scotland. This is rather a singular instance of the superiority of the Scots market in those days*.

The other cities in Scotland, though inferior to Berwick, were not without their proportion of trade. About the same time, the sheriffs of Cumberland and Lancaster were ordered to send people to purchase fish on the west coast of Scotland, and convey them to the *depôt* at Chester; and one Adam de Fulcham was commissioned to furnish 100 barrels of sturgeons, of five hundredweight each, 5000 salt fish, also dried fish. The fish of Aberdeen were so well cured, that they were exported to the principal fishing port of Yarmouth.

Four hundred fish of Aberdeen (perhaps salmon), one barrel sturgeons, five dozen lampreys, fifty pounds whale oil, *balen* (for burning, perhaps, during the voyage), and a half last of herrings, constituted the fish part of the provisions put on board of a ship fitted out at Yarmouth for bringing the infant Queen of Scotland from the court of her father, the King of Norway. The fish of Aberdeen cost somewhat under three pennies; stock-fish under one penny each, and the half last of herrings thirty shillings †.

In the reign of Alexander III., the merchants of St. Omer's, and partners of the Florentine houses of Pullei and Lambini, had established correspondents in Scotland; and one Richard de Furbur, a trader of the inland town of Roxburgh, had sent factors and supercargoes to manage his business in foreign countries, and various parts of Britain.

The exports of Scotland, at this time, consisted of wool and woolfells, hides, black cattle‡, fish, salted and cured, horses, greyhounds, falcons, pearls, and herrings, particularly those caught in Lochfyne, which had a preference, and found a ready market among the French, who came and exchanged their wines at a place still known by the name of *French Foreland*; and so much was wine a regular understood barter, that Lochfyne (*Loch-*

fyne), or the Wine Loch, became the only name for one of the most extensive arms of the Western Ocean on the Scottish coast. The pearl was a more ancient branch of traffic, and said to have been in request among the Romans. The Scottish pearl, however, appears to have been partially superseded in the French market, by the introduction of an article of superior lustre from the East. The goldsmiths of Paris, therefore, made a trade regulation, forbidding any worker in gold or silver to set any Scotch pearls along with Oriental ones, except in large jewels for churches. The greyhounds*, however, kept up their price; and the Scottish falcons were only rivalled by those of Norway.

The reader may have some idea of the quantity of wine consumed at the table of Alexander III., from the circumstance of one hundred and seventy-eight hogsheads being supplied in the year 1263, and sixty-seven hogsheads and one pipe furnished the following year. The difference in the quantity of these two years may have been occasioned by the battle of Largs having taken place on the 2d October, 1263; after which there would, no doubt, be a considerable influx of barons and their followers to the royal presence, to partake of the festivities incident to the occasion †.

Horses were, it is said, an article of importation as well as exportation with the Scots in the thirteenth century. Alexander I. rode a fine Arabian; and, in the Norwegian account of Haco's invasion, we are told that a large body of Scottish knights appeared on Spanish steeds, which were completely armed. It is probable, however, that the warriors so mounted might have been the forces of the Temple, as this wealthy order had been some time before established in the country; and its services would no doubt be required on stirring an occasion.

Asia, in the thirteenth century, was the grand military school for the nations of Europe; and every country having representatives in the armies of the crusaders, the improvements that took place in the art of war were quickly transfused through the various kingdoms of Christendom; and the offensive and defensive armour of each was, therefore, nearly the same. The warriors of Scotland and England assimilated very closely to each other; and, with the exception, perhaps, of the glaive-men and the bill-men of the English, and the Highlanders and Isles-men of the Scots, no material difference could be discovered. The Scots, as well as the English, had "men-at-arms," who fought on foot; and while the latter used the lance, the former were armed with a spear of no common length. These men among the Scots were selected on account of their stature and strength, and were

* Ayloffe's Calendar, p. 88. Some idea may be formed of the injury which the trade of Scotland sustained by the long protracted and impoverishing warfare she had to maintain in support of her independence, from the circumstance of James I. being obliged, in 1430, to commission two citizens of London to send him the following articles for his own use: viz. twenty tuns of wine, twelve bows, four dozen yards of cloth of different colours, and twelve yards of scarlet, twenty yards of red worsted, eight dozen pewter vessels, 1200 wooden bowls (or cups), packed in four barrels, three dozen coverlets, a basin and font, two summer saddles, one hackney saddle, one woman's saddle, with furniture, two portmanteaus, four yards of motley, five yards of murray, five yards of black cloth of Lyn, twelve yards kersey, twelve skins of red leather, and some trifling articles. These goods, shipped on board a vessel belonging to London, were secured by a royal order from being molested by English cruisers, but they were to pay the customary duties.—*Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 470.

† Rymer's Coll. MS. vol. ii. p. 287.

‡ This traffic was frequently interrupted by war; in time of peace, it was carried on to a considerable extent. The first notice that we have of its revival after the wars of Wallace and Bruce, occurs in a letter of safe-conduct granted 12th January, 1359, to Andrew Murray and Alan Erskine, two Scottish drovers, with three horsemen and their servants for travelling through England, or the King's foreign dominions, for a year, with horses, oxen, cows, and other goods and merchandise.—*Fœdera*, vol. vi. p. 114.

* The greyhounds, "*Ieporarii*," of Scotland were considered so superior, that the Duke of Berry, in France, thought it worth while to send his valet, and three other men, to procure some of them, and to obtain letters of safe-conduct from the King of England, to enable them to travel through his dominions on that business.—*Fœdera*, vol. vii. page 831.

† By the chamberlain's accounts, it appears that the 178 hogsheads cost 439*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* sterling, while the sixty-seven hogsheads and one pipe cost 373*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* Could this difference arise from the latter being of superior quality, or from the market being overstocked, in consequence of the expected demand? No doubt there were speculators in those days, as well as at present.

generally placed in the front rank of the squares, being completely enclosed in defensive armour, which consisted of steel helmets, a tunic, stuffed with wool, tow, or old cloth, with a habergeon, or shirt of iron rings, the joints defended by plates of the same metal. The stubbornness with which they maintained their ranks may very reasonably be supposed to have acquired for the Scottish phalanx or schiltron, that high character for firmness and obstinate valour for which it was so long distinguished.

Hauberks of different kinds, with padded or quilted pourpoints, having iron rings set edgewise, were generally worn. In the early part of the reign of Alexander III. chain-mail was first introduced into Scotland by the crusaders; it was formed of four rings, joined to a fifth, and all firmly secured by rivets. Eastern armour, however, had appeared in the country before this period, as we find that Alexander I. had a splendid suit of Arabian manufacture, richly ornamented with jewels, with a spear and shield of silver, which, along with his Arabian steed, covered with a fair mantle of fine velvet, and other rich housings, he dedicated to the patron Saint of Scotland, within the church of St. Andrew's, in the early part of the thirteenth century. This was considered so valuable a donation, as to require the sanction of David, the heir-apparent of the throne*.

Habergeons, of various forms and dimensions, according to the fancy or circumstances of the wearer, prevailed in this age. These were generally covered by a gown or tabard, on the back and front of which the arms of the wearer were emblazoned. Jacked or boiled leather, with quilted iron-work, was also in use for defending the arms and legs. Helmets, bacinets, and skullcaps, surmounted, according to the dignity of the person, formed defences for the head; and the shields were either round, triangular, or kite-shape, with the device or arms of the warrior painted upon them in glaring colours. The common soldiers wrapped pieces of cloth about the neck, their numerous folds of which formed an excellent defence from the cut of a sword. The "*Ridir*," or Knight among the Highlanders, differed little in his equipment from those of the same rank in the Low Country. In battle, he was usually attended by a number of *Gall-oglaich*. These were soldiers selected as the stoutest and bravest of the clan, and might be considered as the "men-at-arms" among the Gaël. They were supplied either with the corslet, or the *bùireach mhaileach* (the habergeon, literally the coat of rings), and were armed with the Lochaber-axe, the *clamdhnor* (great two-handed sword), and sometimes a heavy shelving stone-axe, beautifully polished, and fixed into a strong shaft of oak †. In the rear of the *Gall-oglaich*, stood the *Ceatharnaich*, an inferior sort of soldiers, armed with knives and daggers. Their duty was to take, kill, or disable those whom the prowess of the front rank had brought to the ground. The boldest and most dexterous among the *Gall-oglaich* was made squire or armour-bearer to the chief. This man, as well as the rest of his companions, received a larger portion of victuals when they sat at their leader's table;

but the part allotted for the armour-bearer was greater than any, and called, on that account, *beath fir*, or, "the Champion's Meal."

Among the Knights of the Isles, the conical-shaped helmet was more in use than any other. From piratical habits, and long intercourse with the Norwegians, their followers in general were better equipped than those of the mainland. The habergeon was very common among them; and from the gown they put over it, being universally dyed of a yellow or saffron-colour, they presented a more uniform appearance than their neighbours.

Besides the lance and spear, the mace, the pike, the *martel de fer* (a sort of iron hammer), the two-handed sword, various forms of daggers, knives, clubs, flails, scythes fixed on poles, bows, cross-bows*, and slings made by a thong fixed to the end of a staff, were in use among the Scots. These slingers used their weapons with both hands. They had no defensive armour, and were generally placed among the archers, who were divided into companies of twenty-five men each.

The military engines in use in attacking or defending castles, or other fortified places, were the *Loup de Guerre*, or war-wolf, a frame formed of heavy beams, with spikes, and made to fall on the assailants in the manner of a portcullis—the *Scorpion*, a large stationary cross-bow of steel, which discharged darts of an uncommon size, and the *Balista*, *Catapulta*, and *Trebuchet*, which were engines of great power in throwing large stones, which were often heated to a high temperature. The *Bricolle* threw large square-headed darts, called *Carreaux*, or *Quarrels*. This engine was used by the Flemings in fortifying their factory at Berwick, called the "Red Hall." The *Espringal* threw darts with brass plates, instead of feathers, to make their flight steady. The *Berfrarium*, an engine also called *Belfredus*, was made of wood, covered with skins to defend it from fire, and was formed like a tower, and of a height to overlook the walls. It consisted of several stories, and was rolled on wheels towards the object of attack, and filled with archers and spearmen; the latter, under cover of the former, either rushed upon the walls, or fought hand to hand with the besieged. The name was afterwards given to high towers erected in cities, for the purpose of alarming by bells. Hence the origin of the term "Belfrey." The most expert in the manufacture of these engines of destruction was a monk of Durham. This man supplied the greatest portion of the artillery required for the defence of Berwick.

Respecting the state of the Arts, it would be difficult to give any thing like a circumstantial detail. That various useful mechanical professions were known and prosecuted, there is abundance of evidence to prove; but to what degree of perfection they were brought, is not so clear. That the compass was familiar to the mariners of Scotland at an early age, appears from the manner in which Barbour expresses himself, in the description of Bruce and his companions, who, in crossing from Arran to Carrick in the night-time, steered by the light of a fire upon the shore.

* By the chamberlain's accounts it appears, that in the reign of Alexander III., the king's *Balistarius*, or keeper of the cross-bows for the Castle of Ayr, was allowed yearly two merks and a half.

* Wyntown, vol. i. p. 286.

† Some fine specimens of these battle-axes may be seen in the museum at Inverness.

"For thai na *nedill* had, na *stane*,
Bot rowyt always in till ane,
Steerand all tyme apon the fyr."

Buke Feyrd, l. 23—25.

According to Wyntown, great attention was paid to agriculture by Alexander III., who fixed that well-known measurement of land called "Oxgang." The passage is worth extracting.

"Yhwmen, pewere Karl, or Knáwe,
Dat wes of mycht an Ox til hawe,
He gert that man hawe part in Pluche;
Swá wes corne in his Land enwche;
Swá than begowth, and estyr lang
Of Land was mesure, ane Ox-gang.

Mychty men, that had má
Oxyn, he gert in Pluchys gá.
A Pluch of Land estyr that
To nowmyr of Oxyn mesur gat.
Be that Vertu all hys Land
Of corn he gart be abowndand.
A Bolle of átis pennys foure
Of Scottis Moné past noucht oure;
A boll of bere for awcht or ten
In comowne prys sawld was then;
For sextene a boll of qwhete;
Or fore twenty the derth was grete.
This fályhyd frá he deyð suddanly."

B. vii. c. x. 507—525.

If the beautiful specimens of architecture which were produced in this age may be regarded as furnishing certain criteria for judging of the general state of the arts, we would be warranted in assigning to them a much higher degree of perfection than many of our readers would be inclined to admit. It is, however, difficult to believe, that a nation could have arrived at a high degree of excellence in an art which required a superior knowledge of the principles of science, as well as the greatest refinement in taste, without having made a corresponding proficiency in those of a subordinate character. The exquisite workmanship which adorned the crosses and monuments within the sacred precincts of the Island of Iona, commands at once the admiration and respect of strangers; and the fragments which have escaped the ravages of modern Vandalism, display a neatness of execution in the figures, lettering and embellishments, which may justly claim competition with the productions of the present day. Some, who will not look further than the subsequent poverty and degradation of Scotland, insist that these crosses and monuments are French manufacture, and were imported from France. This conjecture will not admit of a moment's reflection. They might as well inform us that the Abbey of Melrose, the Cathedral of Glasgow, and all the rest of our sacred edifices, were importations from the same quarter. With more propriety, however, it may be alleged, that the most elegant of our ecclesiastical structures were erected by a band of ingenious architects and workmen belonging to various countries, who associated together about this time, under the name of Freemasons, and wandered about Europe, offering their services where they expected the most liberal encouragement. Of these men, it is presumed Scotland has a right to claim a fair proportion.

Naval architecture also appears to have met with due encouragement; for we find, in the year 1249,

Hugh de Chantillon, Earl of St. Paul and de Blois, a powerful vassal of Louis IX., joined the crusaders under that monarch at Cyprus, with fifty knights carrying banners, besides a numerous body of Flemings, on board of a vessel of great strength and dimensions, which, according to Matthew Paris*, (who calls it a marvellous vessel,) was built at Inverness, in the Murray Firth. On this occasion Maepherson remarks †, "That a French nobleman should apply to the carpenters of Inverness for a ship, is a curious circumstance; which seems to infer, that they had acquired such a degree of reputation in their profession, as to be celebrated in foreign countries." A large vessel was afterwards built for the Venetians at the same place ‡.

As the state of literature at this period was nearly on a level all over Britain, the following specimens of the earliest lyrical effusions of the Scottish and English Muse known to exist, may serve the purpose of exciting a more elaborate inquiry.

ANCIENT ENGLISH SONG.

Summer is come in,
Loud sings the cuckoo;
Groweth seed, and bloweth meed,
And springth woods new,
Singth the cuckoo.
Ewe bleateth after lamb,
Loweth after calf, cow;
Bullock starteth, buck verteth,
Merry sings the cuckoo,
Cuckoo, cuckoo,
Well singth the cuckoo,
May'st thou never cease.

ANCIENT SCOTTISH SONG.

"Quhen Alysandyr oure Kyng wes dede,
That Scotland led in Luwe and Le,
Away wes Sons of Ale and Brede,
Of Wyne and Wax, of Gamyn and Gle:
Oure Gold wes changyd in-to Lede.
Cryst, borne in-to Virgynyté,
Succour Scotland and remede,
That Stad is in perplexyté."

The law of Scotland is known to all to have been that of the Romans. The municipal and commercial departments were under the control of the Court of the "Four Burghs," which consisted of representatives from Berwick, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Stirling; to whom all matters connected with commerce, and the rights and privileges of the burgesses, were referred. The Chamberlain's Court had also a jurisdiction over the burghs in matters respecting the trade and general policy of the kingdom. The chamberlain, in the discharge of his duty, was constrained to make periodical progress through the kingdom, to adjust the standards, weights and measures, kept in the different burghs. It was also his duty to detect any imposition that might be practised by the king's servants, in exacting more goods at the king's price (which was lower than the market) than what were required for his service, and thereby making a profit to themselves. From the regulations of the Chamberlain's Court, it appears that inspectors were appointed to examine and certify, by their seal of

* P. 668.

† Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 397 & 398.

‡ Philosophical Transactions, vol. xxi. p. 230.

office, the quantity and quality of cloth, bread, and casks containing liquors; and that other officers, called "Troners," had the inspection of wool. Salmon fishings also were carefully regulated; and fishing during the night, or while the salmon were not in season, was prohibited*.

The great councils of the nation, from whence all the laws emanated, had their meetings at Scone; and the promulgation of any new act was preceded by the ringing of the great bell of the monastery where the meetings were held. By this practice "the bell of Scon" became, in time, a cant expression for the law of the land †. These councils were almost solely attended by the barons and ecclesiastics of the highest rank. Neither merchants nor burghesses were admitted. Representations, therefore, from the Chamberlain's Court, and the Court of the Four Burghs, afforded the only chance for correcting the mistakes which might arise from the ignorance of these aristocratic legislators.

From the intercourse which existed between Scotland and England during the long interval of peace, previous to the aggression of Edward, the manners, particularly of the higher classes, were in many respects nearly the same. The frequent intermarriages tended, more than any other cause, to render the inhabitants of the two countries familiar with the habits and customs of each other, while both imitated the French in dress and language; and their domestic economy, in numerous instances, also bore a close resemblance.

Though the barons and churchmen among the Scots had no taste for the high-spiced wines so much relished by the English, yet in the viands which graced their festivities, particularly those who held lands in England, there appeared to have been little or no alteration. On great occasions, the seal, the porpoise, and the wild boar, though now banished from the table, never failed to make their appearance. Venison pasties, game, poultry, and baked meats of all descriptions, with fish in endless variety, were common at the tables of the great. Shell-fish, particularly oysters, were much in demand among the ecclesiastics. This is evident from the quantity of shells which are still to be found in digging about the ruins of religious establishments. The frequent recurrence of those periods when food of an opposite description was forbidden, sufficiently accounts for this profusion.

Among the culinary preparations that were peculiar to Scotland, one known by the name of *Mir-Mor*, was held in the highest estimation. This savoury dish always had a place at the royal table; and so much was it a favourite, that in the traditional songs of the Gaelic bards, it is mentioned as a viand fit only for a hero, and represented by them to be given as such by Fingal to his friend *Goll Mac-mhairn*, in addition to his *beath-fir*, or "champion's meal," which he received sitting at the right hand of the royal donor. Of this highly-prized *morceau friand*, minced meat, marrow, and herbs, were the principal ingredients; and in this composition it is not difficult to trace the origin

of the "Haggies," a dish still considered national among the Scots.

Were it a fair criterion to estimate the strength and importance of a country by the princely revenues of its church establishment, Scotland, in the thirteenth century, might be considered as holding a very respectable rank among the nations of Europe. The deference which the Roman pontiffs, on various occasions, paid to the kings of Scotland, while it displayed their anxiety to preserve, by conciliatory conduct, the spiritual supremacy in the kingdom, also shows that the national or patriotic feelings of the Scottish ecclesiastics were stronger than those ties which connected them with the See of Rome; for, by their well-timed support of the royal authority, the thunders of the Vatican, so terrible in other countries, rolled harmlessly over without distracting the state; and the king was often enabled to contest, and bring to a favourable termination, those differences which arose between him and the Pope, with whose legates he frequently assumed very high ground, not only forbidding them his presence, but even refusing them a safe conduct through his dominions.

To give any thing like a satisfactory account of the revenues of the several ecclesiastical endowments, would occupy a space not consistent with the design of the present work. It may, however, be briefly stated, that the wealth of the church did not altogether arise from her spiritual emoluments. Agriculture, and various branches of traffic, engaged the attention, and increased the riches as well as the luxuries of the priesthood. In 1254 the Cistercian monks were the greatest breeders of sheep in England. Being exempted from duties, their wealth rapidly increased. That they possessed similar privileges in Scotland, is pretty evident; for in 1275*, when Bagamont, an emissary from Rome,

* The name and labours of this priest have created a little perplexity among the learned. He appears to have made a sort of census of the kingdom, in which the names of the bishops, abbots, priors, parsons, vicars, abbesses, earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and communities of cities and burghs, were registered. This roll, in which their rentals were stated, is known in Scottish history by the name of "Bagimont's Roll," and was always referred to in disputes respecting church property. For the purpose of a like assessment, Bagamont appears to have made a similar census in England. A copy of the Scotch roll, carried off most likely by Edward, along with the other documents, from Scone, was found in the Tower of London, and given to the world, by the more modern historians of England, as the "Homage Roll of Scotland," under the cognomen of "Ragman's Roll." The disgrace which this document seems to infer, is pathetically bewailed by Abercromby. If he had turned to the learned Bishop of Carlisle's Scottish Historical Library, p. 53, his grief might have been a little assuaged by the following passage:—"One of the most ancient repertoires of the primitive state and rights of the Scottish church, is the old Book of the Taxation of Ecclesiastical Benefices, whereof Sir John Skene has given us the following account. (1) 'The Pape, in the time of King (2) James the Third, sent in this realm ane cardinal and legate, called Bagimont: quha did make ane taxation of all the rentals of the benefices, that the samin might be knawin to the Pape: to the effect, that, when any person came to Rome seikin Bulles, or right to ony benefice fra him, he might conform to the said rental as he pleased, sell the samin for sa meikle silver or gold as he thocht maist profit-

* Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 440.

† The following proverb is still floating on the breath of tradition among the Highlanders—"Màr thubhairt clag Scáin, an rud nach buin duit na buin da," "As the bell of Scon rang, what belongs not to you meddle not with."

(1) De Verb. Sign. in voce Bagimont.

(2) It should be Alex.

was sent to levy a tenth on the property of the Scottish church for the relief of the Holy Land, this wealthy order of temporal as well as spiritual shepherds, compounded for the enormous sum of 50,000 merks. By this compromise, the amount of their revenues remained unknown.

The following is part of the live-stock, which (according to an inventory preserved in the charulary of Newbottle) at one time belonged to the Abbey of Melrose, viz. 325 forest mares, fifty-four domestic mares, 104 domestic horses, 207 stags or young horses, thirty-nine three-year old colts, and 172 year old colts. Amidst all this profusion of wealth, the serious reader may desire to know how the ceremonials of religion were attended to. From the many jokes which Fordun relates as having taken place among the clergy of his day, we cannot suppose that either the teachers or the people were more devout than their neighbours. An old writer describes the interior of a cathedral as a place where the men came with their hawks and dogs, walking to and fro, to converse with their friends, to make bargains and appointments, and to show their guarded coats; and among the Scots, it is well known, weapons were too often displayed on such occasions.

From what has been stated in the foregoing pages, it is pretty evident that Scotland occupied a more prominent station among the nations of Europe, before the aggression of Edward I. than she has ever done since. The single fact, that Alexander II. mustered and led to the borders of England, in 1244, an army of 100,000 foot, with a well-appointed body of cavalry, proves that, at the period under review, when the numerical strength of the two British kingdoms were marshalled, the inferiority of Scotland was by no means very apparent. An army so numerous as that we have

able.' This is by no means exact, nor answerable to what we commonly have from that learned writer; for that very law of (3) James the Third, to which he refers, cites this taxation by the name of the 'Provincialis Buik, or the auld taxation of Bagimont;' and shows, that in this King's time, endeavours were used to raise the values of the livings above what they were rated at, to the advantage of the Court of Rome, and against 'the common gude of the realme.' This act was confirmed by his son and successor James the Fourth, who made (4) the crime capital in laymen, ordaining that all such should 'tine their life and gudes.' We are, therefore, still in the dark as to the true author of this ancient valuation; being certainly misinformed of the time wherein he lived, and (perhaps) knowing as little of his proper name. If I may be allowed to offer my conjecture, I should guess that this ecclesiastical survey is about the same age with that which was made (of the lands in England) by our Edward the First; and possibly the names of (5) Rageman and Bagimont were heretofore one and the same. What this or the other means, or how both have been corrupted, let the nicer etymologists inquire."

(3) Vide Spotswood, lib. 2. p. 46. (3) Parl. 6. Ja. 3. Act 43. (4) Parl. 4. St. 39.

(5) Vide D. Hen. Spelman. Gloss. in voce Rageman, and Repository of Records, p. 26. Had this candid and generally correct writer referred to Fordun, Book X. chap. xvii., he might have satisfied himself as to the date, origin, and nature of this roll, as well as the name and character of its author. The alteration of Bagimont to Rageman, is evidently an English corruption, which the writers of that country ought to be best able to explain. Rageman's Roll, as a roll of vassalage to Edward, is unknown to ancient English and Scottish historians.

mentioned, no subsequent monarch of that kingdom ever had it in his power to bring into the field. On the death of Alexander III. the prosperity of Scotland became eclipsed—anarchy overspread the land—the machiavelism of her arch-enemy prevailed—her ancient glory was trampled in the dust—and commerce deserted a country overrun with the horrors of war. Thus, in the emphatic language of the Bard, "Oure gold was changid into lede;" "and," says MacPherson, "our fishermen and merchants into cut-throats and plunderers, whose only trade was war, and whose precarious and only profit was the ruin of her neighbours."

CHAPTER II.

ON THE CLAIM OF ENGLAND TO THE FEUDAL HOMAGE OF SCOTLAND.

SCOTLAND, at various periods of her history, has been placed in situations of imminent peril, from the encroachments and invasions of her ambitious neighbour in the South. Misled by an insatiable thirst for conquest, the English monarchs were either prosecuting their views of aggrandizement on the continent of Europe, or disturbing the tranquillity of Britain by endeavouring to subvert the liberty and independence of her states. The Welsh, after being driven from the most fruitful of their domains, continued an arduous but ineffectual struggle for their freedom, amid the few barren rocks and valleys that remained to them of their ancient and once flourishing kingdom. The Scots, though always numerically inferior to the English, and, from the comparative poverty of their country, deficient in those internal resources which their richer neighbours possessed; yet, from their warlike propensities, their parsimonious habits, and that love of independence which formed so striking a feature in the character of all the tribes of which the nation was composed, were either prepared to guard the frontier of their kingdom, or retaliate an aggression by invading the territories of the enemy. This last measure was the mode of defence they chiefly resorted to; aware that, with the exception of Berwick, the English, without advancing farther into the country than was consistent with their safety, would find no booty equivalent to what could be driven by the Scots from the fertile plains of their more wealthy opponents. These hostilities were frequently embittered by a claim of superiority which the English urged against the crown and kingdom of Scotland; and as the attempts which were made, from time to time, to enforce it, have produced more misery and bloodshed than any other national quarrel that ever existed between the two countries, an inquiry into the nature and foundation of the alleged plea of vassalage, may be of importance in elucidating the conduct of the conflicting parties in the following narrative. In this inquiry, we shall dispense with any reference, either to "Brute the Trojan" on the one side, or to that no less questionable personage, "Scota, daughter to the King of Egypt," on the other; and proceed, at once, to the only well-authenticated evidence that exists on the subject.

In the year 1174, William, King of Scotland, dissatisfied with the conduct of Henry II. of England,

invaded Northumberland, instigated thereto by a sense of his own wrongs, real or imaginary, and those discontented barons who wished to place the young king on the throne,—an ambitious youth, whom his father had imprudently allowed to be crowned during his own lifetime. While the numerous army of William was spread over the adjacent country, wasting, burning, and slaying with that indiscriminate recklessness peculiar to the age; he, with a chosen band of his followers, besieged the Castle of Alnwick. The devastations committed by the marauding army of the Scots inflamed the minds of the barons of Yorkshire with a generous indignation; and they determined to exert themselves for the relief of their distressed countrymen. Having congregated at Newcastle to the number of four hundred horsemen, encased in heavy armour; they, though already fatigued with a long journey, pressed forward under the command of Sir Bernard de Baliol; and, by travelling all night, came in sight of the battlements of Alnwick Castle by daybreak. William, it would seem, had been abroad in the fields, with a slender escort of sixty horse; and, mistaking the English for a detachment of his own troops, he was too far advanced to retire, before he became sensible of his danger. "Now it will be seen who are true knights," said the intrepid monarch, and instantly charged the enemy. His efforts, however, were unavailing; he was soon overpowered, and, along with his companions, made prisoner.

The chivalry of Yorkshire thus secured for their monarch a valuable prize. The magnanimity of Henry, however, was not equal to the gallantry of his subjects; for, on getting possession of the unfortunate prince, he inflicted on him every possible mortification. Not satisfied with exhibiting his rival, like a felon, with his feet tied under his horse's belly, to the rude gaze of the vulgar; he summoned all his barons to Northampton, to witness "the humiliating spectacle of a sovereign prince exposed in public to a new-invented indignity*."

It may appear difficult to account for this treatment of a royal captive, taken under such circumstances, in an age when the honours of chivalry were eagerly sought after by all the crowned heads of Europe. When we reflect, however, that on the Thursday preceding the capture of William, Henry himself had been ignominiously scourged at the tomb of his formidable enemy, Thomas à Becket, his lacerated feelings might, perhaps, have found some relief in this public exhibition of his power to inflict, on a brother monarch, something of a similar degradation.

William was at first committed prisoner to Richmond castle, in Yorkshire; but Henry, either from apprehension of his being insecure among the scarcely-extinguished embers of the late insurrection, or wishing to enhance his value in the eyes of the Scots, by removing him to a greater distance, had him conveyed beyond seas, to Falaise in Normandy. Meanwhile, the Scottish army, thunder-struck at so unusual a calamity, after some ineffectual and misdirected attempts at revenge, abandoned their spoil, and hastily retreated to their own country. Alarmed, however, at the irregularities which the absence of the head of their government was

likely to produce among the discordant and inflammable materials of which the kingdom was composed, they too hastily agreed to the ignominious terms proposed by the enemy; and submitted to their king becoming the *liegeman of Henry for Scotland, and all his other territories*; and further,

"The King of Scotland, David, his brother, his barons, and other liegemen, agreed that the Scottish church should yield to the English church such subjection, in time to come, as *it ought of right, and was wont to pay* in the days of the kings of England, predecessors of Henry. Moreover, Richard, bishop of St. Andrew's, Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, Geoffrey, abbot of Dunfermline, and Herbert, prior of Coldingham, agreed that the English church should have that right over the Scottish which in justice it ought to have. They also became bound, that they themselves would not gainsay the right of the English Church."

"A memorable clause!" says Lord Hailes, "drawn up with so much skill as to leave entire the question of the independence of the Scottish church. Henry and his ministers could never have overlooked such studied ambiguity of expression. The clause, therefore, does honour to the Scottish clergy, who, in that evil day, stood firm to their privileges, and left the question of the independence of the national church to be agitated, on a more fit occasion, and in better times."

"In pledge for the performance of this miserable treaty, William agreed to deliver up to the English the castles of Rokesburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, and gave his brother David and many of his chief barons as hostages."

Thus stood the right of England to feudal homage over Scotland in 1175. A superiority, acquired in such an ungenerous manner, was not likely to be long submitted to with patience. The Scots had always plumed themselves on being an *unconquered* people, and able to preserve their independence against all who had attempted to invade them. *Vassalage* implies *protection*;—it was therefore presumption in England to pretend to *defend* Scotland against those enemies before whom she herself had been obliged to *truckle*.

It was not long before the conduct of William displayed that covered scorn of his *liege-lord*, which his late injuries were calculated to inspire. Countenanced by him, the Scottish bishops, at a council held at Northampton, boldly declared, in the presence of the Pope's legate, "that they had never yielded subjection to the English church, nor ought they."

William also entered the lists with the Roman Pontiff,—before whose threats and anathemas Henry had so ignominiously crouched:—yet, though all the thunder of the Vatican was levelled against him,—and the Archbishop of York, armed with Papal authority, had not only excommunicated him, but placed the kingdom under an interdict; still he maintained his point with inflexible resolution, till the judgment of the apostolic father was annulled, and an honourable compromise obtained. The contrast thus exhibited by his *cassal* could not be very consoling to the feelings of the English monarch.

In the year 1178, William, in the same spirit, founded and amply endowed an abbey at Aberbrothick, in honour of the holy martyr, Thomas à Becket,—a saint who had been thrust down the

* Hailes, 137, 138.

throat of his liege-lord with the salutary application of the whip. It would be doing William injustice to doubt the sincerity of the gratitude which instigated him to this act of munificence.

In 1189, Henry II. died, and was succeeded by his son Richard *Cœur de Lion*. Unlike his father, Richard, though haughty and imperious, was alive to all the noble and virtuous qualities which ought to constitute the character of a king. As soon after the obsequies of his father as decency would permit, he invited William to his court at Canterbury, and magnanimously restored Scotland to her independence. The important document runs thus—“That Richard had rendered up to William, *by the grace of God, King of Scots*, his castles of Rokesburgh and Berwick, to be possessed by him and his heirs for ever as their own proper inheritance.”

“Moreover, we have granted to him an acquittance of all obligations which our father extorted from him by new instruments, in consequence of his captivity; under this condition always, that he shall completely and fully perform to us whatever his brother Malcolm, King of Scotland, of right performed, or ought of right to have performed, to our predecessors*.” “Richard,” says Lord Hailes, “also ordained the boundaries of the two kingdoms to be re-established as they had been at the captivity of William.” He calls them, “the marches of the kingdom of Scotland (*marchiæ regni Scotiæ*)”.

“He became bound to put William in full possession of all his fees in the earldom of Huntingdon or elsewhere (*et in omnibus aliis*), under the same conditions as heretofore.”

“He delivered up all such of the evidences of the homage done to Henry II. by the barons and clergy of Scotland, as were in his possession, and he declared, that all evidences of that homage, whether delivered up or not, should be held as cancelled.”

“The price which William agreed to pay for this ample restitution, was ten thousand merks sterling.”

It is with difficulty a smile can be suppressed when we find, even in the nineteenth century, an author of such learning and talents as Dr. Lingard, endeavouring to fritter away the meaning and import of the above deed of restitution, by such fallacious reasoning as the following: “The King’s” (Richard I.) “CHARTER to the King of Scots may be seen in Rymer, i. 64. It is NOT, as sometimes has been supposed, a FORMAL RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF SCOTLAND, but a recognition, on the part of Richard, of all those RIGHTS which Henry had extorted from William for his RANSOM. In lieu of them he received ten thousand pounds, probably the sum which William would have given to Henry. The respective rights of the two crowns, are now replaced on the same footing as formerly. William was to do to Richard whatever Malcolm ought to have done to Richard’s predecessors, and Richard was to do to William whatever they ought to have done to Malcolm, according to an award to be given by eight barons, to be equally chosen by the two kings. Moreover, William was to possess in England the lands which Malcolm had possessed; and to become the liegeman of Richard for all lands for which his predecessors had been the liegemen of the English kings. The award was after-

wards given, by which it appears that the words *libertates, dignitates, honores, debiti*, &c. mean the allowances to be made, and the honours to be shown, to the King of Scots, as often as he came to the English court by the command of his lord the English king, from the moment that he crossed the borders till his return into his own territories, Rym. i. 87. This will explain the clause of *Salvis dignitatibus suis*, in the oath taken by the Scottish kings, which some writers have ERRONEOUSLY CONCEIVED TO MEAN, SAVING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THEIR CROWN*.” If William was already the *casual* of Henry, where was either the policy or the necessity of the latter bringing his right of homage into question, by making it again a subject of negotiation? and if it was not for “A FORMAL RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF SCOTLAND” that William paid the *ten thousand pounds* (merks) to Richard, for what purpose was that sum paid? Henry extorted no money from William for his “RANSOM;” his vanity being amply gratified by the deed of homage. Richard had no claim to 10,000*l.* from William, without granting him what he considered an equivalent. This equivalent could not have been the *independence of the Scottish church*; for even during the reign of Henry, we find, by a note appended by the learned author to his work (vol. ii. p. 397, 3d edit.), that when the obedience of the Scottish church was demanded by the Archbishop of York, “it was answered that none was due; and the answer, after a long controversy, was confirmed by Pope Clement III. in 1188.”

How “*Salvis dignitatibus suis*” can be explained so as not to include the *independence of the monarch’s crown*, we are much at a loss to perceive. One thing, however, is sufficiently apparent, that the sophistry we have quoted ought not to have found a place in a publication of such acknowledged merit as that of Dr. Lingard.

As he has evidently allowed the prejudices of the old English chroniclers to warp his judgment in this affair, we may be permitted, in order to place the question on its proper basis, to quote the following short passage from his own work, by which it will be seen that the LION of England showed as little *pluck* as HE of Scotland, when placed in a similar situation.—“In an assembly of the German princes and English envoys, by the delivery of the cap from his head, he [Richard I.] resigned his crown into the hands of Henry; who restored it to him again to be held as a fief of the empire, with the obligation of a yearly payment of five thousand pounds †.” Had this claim been prosecuted against England with the same pertinacity as England advanced her absurd pretensions against Scotland, it is presumed they would have been repelled with similar scorn and derision.

Though the generosity of Richard towards William in the above transaction appears sufficiently conspicuous, yet there was that in the situation of his affairs which rendered it a matter of political expediency. From the arrangements necessarily connected with the crusade, in which he and his barons were about to embark, it became a matter of necessity, before he left Britain, to do something towards smoothing down the mane of the chafed Lion of Scotland. The gracious manner in which the boon was conferred, fixed its proper value in

* Hailes, 155, 156.

• Vol. ii. p. 443 and 444. † Vol. ii. p. 487, 3d edition.

the estimation of the Scots, and "converted an impatient vassal and implacable enemy into a faithful and affectionate ally."

English historians have, on this occasion, charged Richard with impolicy. Happy would it have been for both countries, if his successors had possessed half the sagacity he displayed on this occasion. The consequence of this prudent measure was a cessation of hostilities between the two nations for nearly a century. This tranquillity—uninterrupted except by the assistance which Alexander II. rendered the English barons, when engaged in protecting their liberties against the encroachments of King John—was highly beneficial to both kingdoms. Intermarriages took place among the nobility, and to such an extent, that there were few families of note but had their connexions; and many became possessed of lands under both governments. Trade rose to be an object of attention, and received encouragement from the legislature. The Scottish burghs emerged from obscurity; and money became so plenty, that, though William had given ten thousand merks for the resignation of the homage of Scotland, and a farther sum of two thousand*, to enable Richard to make up the ransom exacted from him by the emperor, still he was able to offer fifteen thousand merks for Northumberland †, besides giving dowries upon the marriage of his two daughters ‡, amounting to fifteen thousand more. The burgesses of the towns had, in this short interval, so much increased their means, as to offer six thousand merks on this occasion. The nobles offered ten thousand; and on the supposition that both ranks tendered according to their ability, it may afford some criterion for judging of their relative situations in pecuniary matters. Though all these drains had been made on the treasury, yet Alexander II. was able to give ten thousand merks, besides lands, as a dowry to his second sister. He also sent § two bishops as envoys to Haco, King of Norway, to negotiate the purchase of all the Western Isles, which they entreated him to value *in fine silver*. The overture, though declined by Haco, shows the state of the precious metals among the Scots of those days.

In the year 1234, though the resignation by Richard must have been still fresh in the memory of the English, Pope Gregory IX., at the request of Henry, exhorted Alexander to perform the conditions of the old treaty between Henry II. and William of Scotland. Alexander had too great a regard for the head of the Papal Church, to let him remain long in ignorance of the impropriety of such exhortations; and with the same spirit which characterized the conduct of his father towards the see of Rome, refused, according to Lord Hailes ||, "to receive a legate, whose original commission respected England alone," as it "might be interpreted in a sense prejudicial to the independency of the Scottish church. It is reported that Alexander consented to his admission, at the joint request of the nobility of both kingdoms; and that he insisted for, and obtained a written declaration from the legate, that this should not be drawn into a precedent. Certain it is, that the legate proceeded not beyond Edinburgh, and that Alexander

avoided his presence." It is added, "The Legate sojourned in the principal towns on this side the sea, and having collected a large sum of money, secretly, and without leave asked, he departed from Scotland."

Lord Hailes continues, "Such was the magnanimity of Alexander II. that the high-spirited pontiff, Gregory IX., submitted to soothe him by a detail of specious and affected reasons, tending to evince the propriety of a legation in Scotland." The "church of Scotland," says that pope, "acknowledges the Romish see as her immediate mother in things spiritual. To leave her destitute of the consolation of a legate from us, would be an indignity which we cannot in conscience allow. Were we, by our legate, to visit the church of England, and yet neglect the neighbouring church of Scotland, she might think us destitute of maternal affection."

In 1239, Alexander married Mary de Couci, daughter of a powerful baron in Picardy. The politics of this lady's family were adverse to England, and Henry became jealous of her influence over her husband. Various circumstances occurred to foster the seeds of animosity in the mind of the English monarch; among other things, it was told him that Alexander had said, that "he owed no homage to England for any part of his territories, and would perform none." Henry secretly prepared for war, by soliciting succour from the Earl of Flanders, and instigating the Irish to invade Scotland; while he collected a numerous army at Newcastle, ready to co-operate with them.

Though the claim of homage was not put forth among the reasons for this display of hostility, yet the real ground of quarrel was well enough understood by the Scots; and on that account the war became so popular, that though Henry had intercepted troops sent to aid Alexander by John de Couci, his brother-in-law, he was enabled to confront his enemy with a formidable body of well-appointed cavalry, and nearly one hundred thousand foot, all hearty in the cause, and animated, by the exhortations of their clergy, to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Under these circumstances, Henry found it expedient to negotiate; and his lofty pretensions were softened down to a very moderate and reasonable agreement, viz. "*Alexander became engaged to live in amity with England, and never to aid her enemies, unless the English should do him wrong.*"

With such a character, Henry found it was in vain to tamper. We, therefore, hear nothing more of Scottish homage till after the death of Alexander, who being succeeded by his son, a child of eight years old, Henry solicited a mandate from Pope Innocent IV. to the effect, "That Alexander, being his liegeman, should not be anointed or crowned without his permission. He also requested a grant of the tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of Scotland." To expect that the last request would have been granted, was preposterous; but Henry perhaps imagined, that by angling with two hooks, he might chance to catch one fish. "The Pope honestly and peremptorily rejected both requests; the *first*, as derogating from the honour of a sovereign prince; the *second*, as unexampled." In the mean time, the Scots, without deigning to wait the decision of the pontiff, proceeded with the coronation of their infant sovereign.

* Chron. Melrose, p. 179.

† Hoveden, fol. 420.

‡ Fœdera, vol. i. p. 155.

§ Icelandic Chronicle.

|| Hailes, 188, 189.

On the 26th December, 1252, Alexander III., being about ten years of age, appeared at York, to celebrate his nuptials with Margaret, daughter of Henry III., to whom he had been betrothed in 1242. After doing homage for his estates in England, Henry also demanded that he should do homage for the kingdom of Scotland, as a fief holding of England, "according to the usage recorded in many chronicles." The answer of Alexander showed that his instructors had not left him unprepared on the subject. He stated, "That he had been invited to York to marry the Princess of England, not to treat of affairs of state, and that he could not take a step so important, without the knowledge and approbation of his Parliament*." Passing over the meanness of Henry, in endeavouring to circumvent a child of ten years old, the futility of thus practising upon a minor, ought to have prevented such a proposal; since he must have known, that although Alexander had even then reached the years of maturity, yet, without the sanction of his Parliament, his compliance was unavailing. Indeed Henry's attempt to entrap the innocence of his son-in-law, would almost indicate that he was very far advanced in dotage.

Henry appears either to have seen his mistake afterwards, or to have become ashamed of his attempts on Alexander. In 1259, the Pope, having appointed his own chaplain, John de Cheyam, an Englishman, to the vacant see of Glasgow, Henry thus writes to Alexander, who intended the vacancy for Nicolas Moffat, Archdeacon of Teviotdale. "Although he is my subject," said Henry, "I would not solicit you in his behalf, could any benefit arise to you from your opposition to a man on whom the Pope has already bestowed ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

In 1260, the Queen of Scotland became *enceinte*; and being desirous to lie-in at her father's court, Alexander accompanied her, after the following clause was inserted in their safe-conduct, "That neither the king nor his attendants should be required to treat of state affairs during this visit." Henry also made oath, that he would return the queen and her child in safety to the Scots.

In 1263, Henry affected to use his influence with Haco, King of Norway, to desist from his hostile intentions against Scotland. Haco denied such intentions; and Alexander, who perhaps questioned the sincerity of Henry's interference, sent the steward of Scotland to demand payment of the arrears of his daughter's dowry. Henry made a partial payment of five hundred merks, and promised the remainder in two instalments, one at Michaelmas in 1263, and the other at Easter, 1264. "I appoint such distant terms," said he, "because I mean to be punctual, and not to disappoint you any more." "To an English reader," says Lord Hailes, "this might seem incredible; but the original instrument exists."

In 1268, Prince Edward, son of Henry, being

about to engage in a crusade, Pope Clement IV., at the instigation of the English court, ordered the Scottish clergy to pay a tenth of their revenues to the King of England, to aid the undertaking. This indirect attempt on their liberties was resisted by Alexander and his ecclesiastics, who spurned at the obnoxious assessment, though they declared their willingness to furnish their proper quota of crusaders. Adam, Earl of Carrick, and David, Earl of Athol, with other barons, engaged in the expedition.

On Michaelmas-day, 1278, Alexander, being present in the English Parliament, swore fealty to Edward, in general terms, for the lands held by him of the crown of England. Edward accepted it, "saving the claim of homage for the kingdom of Scotland, whenever he or his heirs should think proper to make it;" an early development of the views of this ambitious monarch, which did not escape the notice of Alexander.

No further measures inimical to the independence of Scotland, appear to have been taken till 1284, when Edward applied to Pope Martin IV. for "a grant of the tenths collected in Scotland for the relief of the Holy Land." The conduct of the pontiff, however, showed the opinion he entertained of the request. He made the grant under these conditions all equally unpalatable or inconvenient to the royal applicant: They were, "That Edward himself should assume the cross before Christmas,—obtain the consent of the King of Scots,—and, out of the money levied, supply the Scottish crusaders."

The following year, Scotland was deprived of the prudent and watchful guardianship of her monarch, who was killed by an accident, 16th March, 1285-6. At a grand council held at Scone, 11th of April, 1286, a regency was appointed for the government of the kingdom. The lineage of Alexander had become extinct in his person, with the exception of an infant grandchild, daughter of Eric, King of Norway. This female, whose right to the crown had been solemnly acknowledged by the Scottish barons in 1284, was deemed by Edward a desirable match for his son; and he lost no time in despatching ambassadors to Scotland to negotiate a marriage. From the comparatively good understanding that had prevailed between the two countries during the late reign, he found the Scots no way opposed to his views. The proposal was therefore entertained; and on the 18th of July, 1290, the regents, clergy, and baronage of Scotland, having met the ambassadors of England at Brigham, situated on the north bank of the Tweed, between Coldstream and Kelso, a treaty was concluded, consisting of fourteen articles; in all of which not the slightest allusion is made to any superiority over Scotland, with the exception of the following clause:—"Saving always the right of the King of England, and of all others which, before the date of this treaty, belonged to him, or any of them, in the marches, or elsewhere, or which ought to belong to him, or any of them, in all time coming."

In the salvo thus artfully introduced, we have a continuation of that quibbling, sinister, and narrow-minded policy, which marked the conduct of the English government in this disgraceful affair. After the question had been so completely set at rest, it was extremely irritating for the Scots, whenever any national calamity befel them, to be annoyed by the

* This reply of Alexander has been noticed, by various historians, as an uncommon instance of the precocity of the royal intellect. Lord Hailes speaks of it as displaying "prudence and resolution superior to his years." Without detracting from the merits of Alexander, it might with more propriety be considered as merely the well-conned lesson given him by the watchful guardians of the independence of his crown, whom experience had taught to be prepared for the attempt.

perpetual recurrence of such barefaced attempts upon their liberties. Though the Kings of Scotland repeatedly did homage to the Kings of England, for the lands they held in that country, it was no more than what the latter submitted to do to those of France. When the English, therefore, strove, by such insidious measures, to entrap the inexperience of the Scottish kings, and to encroach on the independence of their crown, it engendered among those who had the honour of their country at heart, a bitterness of spirit, which, as the attempts were persevered in, settled down to a deep-rooted and inextinguishable animosity. There was no scarcity of men in both countries, who had sufficient penetration to see, and judgment to appreciate, the advantages that might have been secured to *all*, were the whole island united under one head. But, from the ungenerous policy of the English, this desirable object could not be attained, except by a sacrifice on the part of the Scots, of all that honourable minds hold dear,—THE GLORIES OF A LONG AND UNCONQUERED LINE OF ANCESTRY, THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE, AND THE CONSEQUENT DEGRADATION OF THEIR OFFSPRING. These were the terms which the English unjustly demanded; and such terms the Scottish nation as sternly rejected*. Events have shown the soundness of their judgment; and their posterity may learn, from the history of Ireland, the extent of gratitude to which their patriotism is entitled.

The question of homage has now been traced from its origin to the negotiation of Edward with the Scots at Brigham. Had all other evidence respecting the independence of Scotland been destroyed, the existence of this treaty would alone have annihilated the pretensions of Edward: for, if the King of Scots had been the *liegeman* of the English monarch, his daughter, or any unmarried female succeeding to the throne of Scotland, would of necessity have been a *ward* of the English crown. Can it, therefore, for a moment be supposed, that Edward I., a prince so feelingly alive

* The following quotation is from the work of a learned Englishman.

"There is" (inter Poemata, M.S. D. R. Maithland, p. S. Pepsy, Armig.) "a manuscript account of Robert the Third's contest with our Henry the Fourth, upon the subject of Homage; in the conclusion whereof (after the word *Finis*) is this inscription—*The Ring (for Reign) of the Roy Robert, made be Dean David Stell.* In this the King of England summons Robert to do fealty at London.

*Eftir the richt of Brutus King,
Quhilk had all England in governing, &c.*

In return to which, 'tis affirmed that
Scotland *evir yit hes bene free,
Sin Scots of Ægypt twick the see.*

It's likewise observ'd, that England itself (having been four times conquer'd by the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans) has little ground for such a challenge; and ought to remember how frequently she has miscarry'd in her adventures of that kind. In conclusion, Robert proposes the deciding this controversy by sixty against sixty (of the Royal blood of both kingdoms), forty against forty, or twenty against twenty: Or, if Henry approves it, that the two kings themselves may end it in a single combat. In which last offer, are these remarkable lines:

*I prafer me to prief on the
At we and Scotland yit are free,
And of the Paip nothing we hauld,
But of the Kirk our Faith of auld."*

See Nicholson's *Scottish Historical Library*, p. 154, 155, 8vo ed. and 43 of 4to.

to what he considered his prerogative, and whose political sagacity and intimate acquaintance with the whole system of jurisprudence had procured for him the title of the "ENGLISH JUSTINIAN," would have so far forgotten what was due to himself, as to submit to *negotiate*, where he had a right to *command*?

The views, however, of both parties in the above treaty, were not destined to be realized. The young queen, the object of such solicitude, and on whom the hopes of the Scottish nation were suspended, sickened on her voyage, and died at Orkney about the end of September, 1290. No provision had been made for the succession to the Scottish crown, beyond the offspring of Alexander; and, as Lord Hailes judiciously remarks, "the nation looked no farther, and perhaps it durst not look farther." Under these circumstances, the sceptre of Scotland became a bone of contention between the leaders of two powerful factions: and there being no third party in the country able to control and enforce the submission of the unsuccessful claimant, it was deemed expedient to submit their pretensions to the arbitration of the King of England. Edward, who watched every opportunity of aggrandizing himself at the expense of his neighbours, had determined, whether solicited or not, to interfere in the disposal of the Scottish crown. Having summoned the barons of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland (among whom were Bruce and Baliol, the two competitors for the Scottish throne), to meet him, with horse and foot, at Norham, on the 5th of June, he desired the nobility and clergy of Scotland to assemble at the same place on the 10th May.

A conference accordingly was held, when Edward commanded Roger le Brabazon, Justiciary of England, to inform the assembly, in his name, "That he had considered the difficulties in which the kingdom of Scotland was involved by the death of Alexander and his offspring, and the dangers arising from disputed succession: that his good will and affection to the whole nation, and to each individual in it, were sincere, *for in their defence he himself was interested*: that he had called the Scots to meet him at this place, with the view that justice might be done to all the competitors, and the internal tranquillity of the kingdom established: that he had undertaken a long journey to do justice, in person, to all, as *Superior and Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland*: that he meant not to encroach on the rights of any man; but, on the contrary, as Lord Paramount, to administer ample and speedy justice to all."

That his purposes might be the more effectually accomplished, he required their hearty recognition of his title as *Lord Paramount*; and he declared his willingness to use their advice in the settlement of the nation.

The whole assembly stood motionless and silent. At length some one had the courage to utter these words:—"No answer can be made while the throne is vacant." "By holy Edward!" cried the king; "by holy Edward, whose crown it is that I wear, I will vindicate my just rights, or perish in the attempt*!" The Scots requested a delay in order to inform those of their countrymen who were absent; and, in consequence, the pro-

* Hailes, p. 243, 244.

ceedings were put off till the next day. A further delay was then requested; and they were allowed a term of three weeks. By that time, Edward knew that the barons he had summoned would be assembled in arms.

This power was, no doubt, intended to insure the submission of the Scots. Enemies, however, more dangerous than the English barons, were at work in their councils. Amongst the secret emissaries of Edward, William Frazer, Bishop of St. Andrew's, and one of the regents, acted with treacherous duplicity towards his colleagues. A partisan of Baliol, he scrupled at no means, however disgraceful, provided they advanced the interest of his employer*. Conduct of this kind could not well be concealed; it quickly engendered animosity and distrust among those who adhered to the interest of Bruce. Weakened, therefore, by their jealousies, and disunited by their conflicting interests, the aristocracy of Scotland soon became as subservient as the crafty usurper could desire.

Edward, finding them in this manner moulded to his purpose, and wishing to take away the appearance of compulsion, appointed the Scots to meet him at Upsettlington, within the boundary of their own country. The Bishop of Bath, who was the Chancellor of England, resumed the proceedings of the adjourned meetings. He stated, that "by various evidences, it sufficiently appeared that the English Kings were Lords Paramount of Scotland, and, from the most distant ages †, had either possessed, or claimed that right; that Edward had required the Scots to produce their evidences or arguments to the contrary, and had declared himself ready to admit them, if more cogent than his

* Balliol, who, on the death of the Scottish queen, assumed the title of "*Hares regni Scotiae*," had engaged the powerful interest of the Bishop of Durham, by a grant of all the manors possessed by Alexander III. in Cumberland;—or, in the event of Edward refusing to sanction the grant, fifty manors in Scotland, in lieu of them. Had any of the other competitors been preferred, this grant must have fallen to the ground.—*Original Charter in possession of Mr. Astle, and published in his Account of the Seals of the Kings of Scotland*, p. 22. It is more than probable that the influence and services of the Bishop of St. Andrew's had been secured by prospects perhaps equally advantageous.

† In support of this claim, Dr. Lingard has, with great industry, collected the evidence afforded by the ancient chronicles of England from Brutus downward. These fabrications of the cloisters, however, are contradicted by events, respecting the truth of which the historians of both countries are agreed. It is rather singular, that when John became the *liegeman* of the See of Rome, and, with the consent of his barons, surrendered the "KINGDOMS OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND TO BE HELD OF THE POPE IN FEE, FOR A THOUSAND MERKS," that he should have *tricked* his holiness out of the KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND. Surely the example of Ananias was lost on the English monarch, when he thus trifled with the church, and kept back a *third* of his kingdoms. Dr. Lingard does not inform his readers how the watchful guardian of "the Patrimony of St. Peter" came to wink at so gross an imposition.

After all that the learned doctor has advanced on the subject, it is pretty plain, that the homage of England over Scotland is something like that which was extorted by St. Dunstan from a certain potentate who shall be nameless. Though the saint compelled him to cry *peccavi*, in a manner that made a great noise in the world at the time, yet, when he became relieved from the scrape, and had got his nose in order, his *sainthood* found his *vassal* as troublesome and evil-disposed as ever.

own, and upon the whole matter to pronounce righteous judgment; that as the Scots had produced nothing, the King was resolved, as Lord Paramount, to determine the question of the *succession**. †

The Scots were right in refraining from the discussion of a question which they knew had long since been set at rest. Had they entered the arena, they would have found themselves but ill-prepared to meet the lawyers of Edward †, who had possessed themselves of the chronicles and other writings that were kept in those Scottish monasteries, which had been under the charge of English ecclesiastics. These records were afterwards found to differ essentially from those kept in monasteries where Scottish churchmen had the superiority. In the muniments of the former, every thing favourable to Scotland, respecting the question, had either been suppressed, or rendered nugatory by interpolation; while in the archives of the latter, her ancient independence and unsullied reputation were as clearly manifested. A reference, however, to these falsified documents, surprised and bewildered the inexperienced among the Scots.

It was part of the policy of Edward to increase the difficulties of coming to a decision, by encouraging new candidates to come forward; as their claims, though futile, alarmed the original competitors, and rendered them more obsequious to his will. At this meeting eight claimants appeared for the crown, and they were afterwards increased to ten; all of whom, including Bruce and Baliol, acknowledged Edward as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and agreed that seizure of the kingdom and its fortresses should be delivered to Edward; "because," said they, "judgment cannot be without execution, nor execution without possession of the subject of the award." Edward was to find security for the faithful restitution of his charge in two months from the date of his award.

In consequence of this agreement, Scotland and her fortifications were surrendered into the hands of her artful adversary on the 11th June, 1291.

An universal homage was now required; and during the summer, many churchmen, barons, and even burgesses, swore fealty to the usurper.

CHAPTER III.

BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND EARLY YEARS OF WALLACE.

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE was descended from a respectable family in the west of Scotland. His father, who enjoyed the honour of knighthood, was Laird of Elderslie and Auchinbothie, and married the daughter of Sir Raynald, or, according to some, Sir Hugh Crawford, sheriff of Ayr. The exact period when the ancestors of Wallace first settled in this country, is a matter of uncertainty ‡. It is,

* Hailes, p. 245, 246.

† Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 248.

‡ A family of the name of Wales also existed in England, some of whom appear to have attained the highest civic honours in the city of London. We are informed by Stowe, that, in 1299, when part of the palace of Westminster, and the public buildings of the adjoining monastery, were destroyed by fire, a parliament was held by Edward in the house of Henry Wales, mayor of London, at Stebenheth,

however, very probable that they were originally from Normandy; and those who support this opinion mention one Eimerus Galleius, as the immediate progenitor of the Scottish family of this name. This person appears as a witness to the charter of the Abbey of Kelso, founded by David I. about the year 1128, and is supposed to have been the father of Richard Wallace, one of the witnesses to the charter of the Abbey of Paisley, founded in 1160, by Walter, High Steward of Scotland. From the Steward he received a grant of a considerable portion of the district of Kyle, which he named Richardton, or Richardtown, after himself. This Ricard, or Richard, who was the most powerful vassal of the Stewards in Kyle, granted to the monks of Melrose the lands of Barmon and Gode-neath, with their pertinents; and this grant, as appears from the *Chart of Melrose, No. 127, Caledonia, III.* p. 483, was confirmed by the second Walter the Steward. Richard was succeeded by his eldest son, also named Richard, who appears to have altered, or softened down the name into Walays. Respecting this last person, no particulars have been related, except that he was cotemporary with Alan the High Steward, who died about 1204. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Henry Walays, who acquired some lands under the Steward in Renfrewshire, early in the thirteenth century; which lands descended by inheritance to Adam Walays, who is stated to have been living in the year 1259, and to have had two sons, Adam and Malcolm. Adam, being the eldest, succeeded to the family estate of Ricardtown. Malcolm, the father of our hero, received the lands of Elderslie, and married, as we have already stated, the daughter of the Sheriff of Ayr. Some writers assert this to have been his second marriage; and farther, that by his first he had two daughters, one of whom was married to Thomas Halliday or Halliday, who held lands under Bruce in Annandale; while others maintain that he had only two sons, Malcolm* and William, the former by the first marriage, and the latter by the daughter of Sir Hugh Crawford. It is, however, more than probable that these two sons were the issue of one marriage; as Wyntown, who mentions the circumstance of his having an elder brother, takes no notice of their being born of different mothers. His elder brother is, by some, supposed, to have been killed along with his father, Sir Malcolm, in a skirmish with the English; but this statement seems at variance with Wyntown's couplet—

"Hys eldare Brodyre the herytage
Had, and joysyd in his dayis."

Vol. ii. p. 91.

From which it would appear, that the "eldare bro-

"when crokards, pollards, and rosaries, coyned in foreign parts beyond seas, and uttered for sterlings, were cried down." Henry Waleis was also mayor in 1300; and a person of the same name is mentioned as having contributed largely to the building of "St. Marty's Church, in the vintroy of London;" he is also said to have filled the office of mayor, during which time he built a prison, called the Tun, in Cornhill, for night-walkers. In 1296, when Edward granted the citizens of London the right of electing their chief magistrate, one William Waleis was called by the public voice to the civic chair.

* Fordun says the name of the elder son was *Andrew*, and thus speaks of him—"Cujus frater senior miles Andreas nomine, et militiæ cingulo succinctus."

dyre" outlived the father, since he succeeded to "the herytage;" and though he may have fallen by the hands of the English, it must have been subsequent to the death of his father.

Sir William, the subject of our narrative, was born in the reign of Alexander III. The precise year of his birth is not mentioned in any record at present known to exist. It is usual, however, for our historians to commence their accounts of him in 1297, as if he had then, for the first time, burst forth upon the notice of his countrymen, though they are represented as being already prepared to place implicit confidence in his talents as a leader, without any explanation of his previous deeds to merit the honourable distinction. In the preface to one edition of Blind Harry, he is stated to have been about twenty-seven years of age at the time of his execution. This, however, would imply a precocity of nature and strength, and a maturity of judgment too miraculous not to be dwelt on at greater length by those early writers who have handed down his story. If he was twenty-seven in 1305, he would consequently be only nineteen in 1297. Can it be supposed that a youth of that age, without influence, and without fame, would have been able to persuade men, his superiors in birth, years, and experience, to array themselves under his banner, and submit to his control? In the work of the *Minstrel*, we are told

"Fourty and fyve off age, Wallace was cauld,
That tym that he was to [the] Southeron sauld."

As this, however, is at variance with what is elsewhere stated in the same work, it is probably an error of the transcriber, who may have mistaken "thirtie" for "fourty," as we find it is said, in "Buke Fyrst," in alluding to our hero, "Scotland was lost quhen he was bot a child." The term "child" here made use of, is not to be considered as inferring that degree of infancy usually understood in our day, but a youth acting, or able to act, as page or squire to some feudal superior. That this is the *Minstrel's* meaning, is evident from the following lines:

"Yhit he was than semly, stark and bald;
And he of age was bot auchtene yer sauld,"

an age inconsistent with his being forty-five at the time of his death. If we are to suppose that Henry dated the loss of Scotland from the solemn surrender of the kingdom, and all its fortifications, to Edward on the 11th of June, 1291, it will nearly correspond with the correction now offered; and if his words are to be taken in the strict literal sense, that he was thirty-five years of age on the day he was betrayed to the English, it will follow, that he was born on the 5th of August, 1270. Wyntown, who first introduces him to notice in the spring of 1297, says that he had already distinguished himself in such a manner, as to have excited the envy and animosity of the English soldiers. In accordance with the above date, Wallace would then be in his twenty-seventh year; which, considering that there was no open rupture to call forth the fiery spirits of the age till 1296, was allowing him no more than a reasonable time for spreading his fame among the English garrisons stationed in Scotland.

1291. His early years are said to have been

passed under the superintendence of his uncle, a wealthy ecclesiastic at Dunipace in Stirlingshire, from whom he received the first rudiments of his education. This worthy man had been at great pains in storing his mind with the choicest apophthegms to be found in the Latin classics, particularly those where the love of liberty is most powerfully recommended; and the efforts of the tutor were amply rewarded by the *amor patriæ* excited in the breast of the pupil. How long he remained at Dunipace is uncertain; but he appears to have been at Elderslie in 1291, when the order for an universal homage of the people of Scotland was promulgated by Edward, in his assumed character of Lord Paramount. "All who came were admitted to swear fealty. They who came and refused, were to be arrested, until performance; they who came not, but sent excuses, to have the validity of their excuses tried in the next parliament; they who neither came nor sent excuses, to be committed to close custody.*" The family of Elderslie appear to have been among the last class of recusants. Sir Malcolm, setting all the penalties of non-conformity at defiance, resolutely refused to take an oath so subsversive of the independence of his country. Aware, however, that the strength of his fortalice at Elderslie was insufficient to protect him against the consequences of his refusal, he retired with his eldest son to the fastnesses of the Lennox, while William, along with his mother, sought the protection of a powerful relation at Kilsplindie in the Carse of Gowrie; and from this latter place he was sent to the seminary attached to the cathedral of Dundee, to receive what farther education the learning of the age afforded. Here he contracted a sincere and lasting friendship with his biographer, John Blair, a young man at that time of great promise, who, on finishing his studies, became a Benedictine monk, and afterwards officiated as chaplain to his heroic friend.

With this faithful companion, and other youths of similar dispositions, Wallace used to lament over the degradation to which the country was daily subjected; and fired with indignation at the growing insolence of the English soldiers, he formed an association among his fellow-students for the purpose of defending themselves, and restraining the wanton outrages of the intruders, by chastising their aggressions whenever the parties were to be found in convenient situations. This, from the licentious habits of the soldiery, frequently occurred; and seldom were they allowed to escape, without experiencing the effects of their vengeance.

In these juvenile bickerings, too unimportant to attract the attention of those in authority, Wallace had frequent opportunities of displaying that dexterity and strength, with which Nature had so amply endowed him. In him, his companions found united all the qualifications they could desire in a leader—a head to devise, and a hand to execute, the most daring enterprises—a fertile imagination ever teeming with stratagems—and a prudence and foresight which provided against all contingencies; so that, when once he determined on any project, however difficult, they were always confident of its being crowned with success.

It is not to be imagined that an association of

young men, among whom talents and bravery were distinguishing characteristics, would not feel deeply interested in the momentous crisis to which their country was approaching. The ambition of Edward, and his designs against the independence of their native land, were too apparent to escape the notice of any who had not an interest in appearing wilfully blind. The subserviency of those who represented the aristocracy was, therefore, regarded by their countrymen with feelings of humiliation and shame. It happened unfortunately for their characters, as well as for the safety of the country, that most of the nobility held possessions on both sides of the Tweed; and their selfishness dictated a line of policy extremely dangerous to the independence of Scotland. A wish to preserve their estates in both countries inclined them to a ready obedience to whatever side was most likely to gain the preponderance. Edward, who, in addition to his conquests on the Continent, had annexed the principality of Wales to the English crown, appeared to them, in the distracted state of their country's affairs, as very likely to consolidate Britain under his powerful and energetic sway. Under these feelings, they vied with each other in their endeavours to propitiate the usurper by disgraceful compliances. The poorer gentry, however, entertained sentiments of a different description, and watched the progress of the submission respecting the succession with feverish impatience.

1291. Since the surrender of the Regents on the 11th of June, the different towns and castles of Scotland had been garrisoned by English soldiers. Between the military and the inhabitants, as might have been expected, brawls were of no infrequent occurrence—and in those which came under the notice of our hero, he seldom remained an inactive spectator. Gilbert de Umfraville* being removed from the command of the castles of Dundee and

* This Gilbert de Umfraville, according to Dugdale, was descended from Robert de Umfraville, Knight of Tours, otherwise called Robert with the Beard, who was a kinsman of William the Conqueror. Having obtained a grant of the Scottish as well as the English inheritance of Ingram de Balliol, Umfraville became Earl of Angus, and was constituted governor of the castles of Dundee and Forfar. Justly considering that he held these fortresses in charge from the Scottish Regency, he could not surrender them to England, unless Edward and the Scottish Regency joined in an obligation to indemnify him. His demand was complied with; on which Lord Hailes remarks, that "he was the only *Scot-man* who acted with integrity and spirit on this trial of national integrity and spirit." But, unfortunately for even this solitary instance of integrity, Gilbert de Umfraville was an *Englishman*, and, as his conduct showed, a prudent, cautious, circumspect man of the world, who wished to preserve his possessions in both countries, by standing fair with both governments. His request could not be objected to by either of the parties. The expenses he laid out in maintaining the castle were afterwards allowed him, in consequence of a precept sent by Edward to the Bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, and the other guardians of the kingdom. In 22 Edward I. (according to Dugdale) he was summoned to Portsmouth, with horse and arms, to attend Edward on his expedition to France; and in 23 Edward I. he was summoned to Parliament, but not by the title of Earl of Angus, till 25 Edward I., at which time, says the above authority, "our lawyers of England were somewhat startled, and refused, in their briefs and instruments, to acknowledge him Earl, by reason that Angus was not within the kingdom of England, until he had openly produced the king's warrant."

* Hailes, p. 253.

Forfar, one Selby, the head of a freebooting family in Cumberland, was appointed to succeed him. His son, a fiery and impetuous youth, having too rashly insulted Wallace, the latter struck him dead on the spot with his dagger; and, though surrounded by the train of his insulter, effected his escape to the house of a female dependent, who concealed him from his pursuers. Besides young Selby, two or three others, who attempted to intercept him in his flight, were either killed or severely wounded. The case, therefore, became one of too serious a nature to be overlooked. The prudent management of his preserver enabled him to quit the town without being observed. An act of outlawry followed this slaughter; and Wallace was hunted from covert to covert by the emissaries of the constable, who, eager to revenge the death of his son, offered great rewards for his apprehension. His success in eluding his pursuers was equal to the boldness of his offence*.

After lurking among the woods and impenetrable recesses of the country, till the heat of the pursuit had subsided, Wallace ventured to communicate with his relations at Kilsplindie. The anxiety of his mother respecting his fate required to be relieved; and, in obedience to her solicitation, to remove himself further from the scene of danger, he agreed to accompany her on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Margaret at Dumfries. The dress required for this purpose afforded a suitable disguise; and the respect paid by the English to a saint of the royal blood of their country, insured,

* Lord Hailes, in remarking on this anecdote, as told by Buchanan, says, "I suspect, however, that this is nothing more than an abridgement of Blind Harry in classical Latin. It may be remarked, by the way, that this is one of the most specious tales in the book, for it is characteristic." The value of his Lordship's "Historical Doubts" are now beginning to be appreciated. There are many tales equally specious, and equally characteristic, to be found in the book, which his natural acuteness would have found no difficulty in discovering, had he laid down the quill of the lawyer, when he took up the pen of the historian. Mr. Tyler gives the story, and quotes Wyntown as one of his authorities. This is a mistake; Wyntown is silent on the subject; and I suspect the truth of it must rest on the evidence of the Minstrel, and traditions still current in the country, among which are the following:—"Edward I. thought Dundee of sufficient consequence to be occupied by an English garrison; and the illustrious Wallace (with his companions, John Blair, probably of the Balthayock family, and Sir Niel Campbell of Lochaw) is said by tradition to have received his education at Dundee school, and, in this situation, to have begun his exploits with the death of the son of the English Governor."—*Stat. Account*, vol. viii. p. 212, 213.

"There is a very respectable man in Longforan (in Perthshire), of the name of Smith, a weaver, and the farmer of a few acres of land, who has in his possession a stone which is called *Wallace's Stone*. It is what was formerly called in this country a *bear-stone*, hollow like a large mortar, and was made use of to unhusk the bear or barley, as a preparative for the pot, with a large wooden mull, long before barley-mills were known. Its station was on one side of the door, and covered with a flat stone for a seat when not otherwise employed. Upon this stone Wallace sat on his way from Dundee, when he fled after killing the governor's son, and was fed with bread and milk by the good-wife of the house, from whom the man who now lives there, and is the proprietor of the stone, is lineally descended; and here, his forbears (ancestors) have lived ever since, in nearly the same station and circumstances, for about five hundred years."—*Stat. Account*, xix. 561, 562.

in those days of superstition, all the facilities which their situation required.

While our hero was thus employed, his father, it would appear, had become obnoxious to the English; but in what manner, we are left entirely to conjecture. Whether they had endeavoured to apprehend him, for disobedience to the order already alluded to, or if, driven from his house and his resources, he found himself constrained to retaliate upon his oppressors the injuries they had inflicted, are circumstances respecting which all authorities are silent.

An unfortunate encounter, however, appears to have taken place in the district of Kyle in Ayrshire, between Sir Malcolm, at the head of a few of his retainers, and a party of the English, under an officer of the name of Fenwick; in which, after a gallant resistance, the Scots were defeated and their chieftain slain. Blind Harry asserts, that the brother of Wallace also fell on this occasion; but he is evidently mistaken, as it has already been shown from Wyntown, that Sir Malcolm was succeeded in his estate by his eldest son.

The death of his father was not calculated to lessen the animosity which Wallace had hitherto entertained towards the English. Thirsting for revenge, he spurned the offers of some of his relations, who proposed to use their influence to get the act of outlawry recalled; and having placed his mother under the charge of his uncle Sir Raynald Crawford, he again betook himself to the woods.

The talents, strength, and dexterity of the young outlaw, soon attracted to his fortunes a number of reckless and intrepid spirits, inclined alike from habit and from circumstances, to prefer a life of savage and unrestrained liberty, to the uncertain and degrading protection of those, who, though wearing the mask of friendship, were daily wounding their feelings, by their encroachments on the independence of their country.

1292. As Scotland, at that time, abounded with game of every description, Wallace and his companions found no difficulty in maintaining themselves in their woodland retreats; from whence also they could issue forth to surprise the English, and supply themselves with those necessaries which their situation otherwise prevented them from obtaining. However well disposed the regency and barons of Scotland might have been to submit to the claims of England, it was quite different with the nation; and the proceedings of Wallace, though not sanctioned by the shadow of government which still lingered in the country, were viewed by the poorer classes of the Scots, not only with indulgence, but with approbation. From the prevalence of this feeling, he derived many important advantages, and much useful information respecting the movements of his enemies.

At this early period of his history, his conduct is said to have drawn upon him the notice of Thomas of Ercildoune, otherwise named Thomas the Rhymer. This *shrewd* observer of the "signs of the times," so highly appreciated his talents and hardihood, as to risk his prophetic fame, then in its zenith, by pointing him out to his countrymen as the man destined to restore the ancient glory of Scotland. His matchless strength and acute wit, joined to the sagacity with which he gave effect to his stratagems, tended, no doubt, to impress the

seer with this favourable opinion. Among the stories told of his early years, the following are perhaps entitled to a preference, on account of their being, as Lord Hailes observes, "characteristical."

One day, having visited Ayr in disguise, his attention was attracted by a crowd collected near the quarters of the military. In the midst of a circle of his own countrymen, there stood an Englishman of huge dimensions, playing off his raillery against the Scots, and offering, for a groat, an opportunity of avenging any injury they might have received from the English, by permitting the best among them to exert their utmost strength in striking a blow upon his back with a pole which he held in his hand; accompanying this absurd declaration with certain ridiculous gestures and scurrilous language, while his mailed companions, with arms akimbo, stood loitering around, laughing, and enjoying the humour of their bulky buffoon. Wallace approached, and tendered treble the sum for the permission offered. This was readily agreed to by the jester, who winked to his companions as he prepared to fulfil the conditions. The wary Scot had observed the trick; and, grasping the pole above the place where it was intended to give way, he let fall a blow with such good will, that the spine yielded to its force, and the foolish witing sunk with a groan at the feet of his companions. Instantly the swords of the English were out to revenge the slaughter of their favourite. One of them, advancing towards the offender, received a blow on the head, which laid him lifeless across the body of the jester. Surrounded on all sides by the increasing numbers of his adversaries, he plied his weapon with a rapidity and a force which kept the most forward of them at bay. Over the steel bacinet of a powerful trooper, the fatal pole was shivered to pieces. Others, seeing him, as they imagined, disarmed by this accident, rushed forward, expecting to overwhelm him with their numbers; but on drawing his sword, which he had concealed under his dress, they as quickly receded from the well-known power of his arm. Having, by his trusty blade, cleared the way to one of the outlets of the town, he was there attacked by two of the boldest of the garrison, who had not before mingled in the fray. The object of one of them appeared to be, to engage him in a little sword-play, and thus give his party an opportunity of hemming him in, but Wallace, aware of the value of his time, broke through the guard of his artful opponent, with a blow which clove him to the teeth; while the other, in the act of retreating, received a thrust through an opening in his armour, which, reaching his vitals, laid him senseless by the side of his companion. Five of the English soldiers had now fallen beneath the arm of the youthful warrior; and the rest seemed so averse to come within his reach, that he had time to gain a little cove in the neighbourhood, where he had left his horse before he entered the town, and, bounding into the saddle, the hardy trooper was soon beyond the reach of any fresh assistance they might procure. Horse and foot were, however, soon on the alert; but after a long and fruitless pursuit, they were obliged to return,—some of those who had already witnessed his prowess no way displeased at their want of success.

The entire absence of anything like fear, seems

to have formed the most prominent feature in the character of Wallace. Although he had so narrowly escaped on the above occasion, and also aware of the ease with which he could be recognised, yet it was not long before he ventured back to the same place. The occasion was as follows:—

A report had circulated about the country, that on a day named, a celebrated English prize-fighter would exhibit on the esplanade at Ayr, as a general challenger. An occurrence of this kind had powerful attractions, in an age when every man required to know something of the use of a sword. Scots, as well as English, became deeply interested as the day of exhibition drew on; and Wallace, instigated partly by curiosity, and partly by a wish to acquire information respecting the numbers and the motions of his enemies, determined to be present. Having equipped himself and fifteen of his companions with dresses which concealed their habergeons, he proceeded to the scene of action. Their horses they left in a place of safety outside the town, and then made their entry from different directions, in such numbers as would not attract the notice of their enemies.

In the midst of the crowd collected to witness the feats of the English champion, Wallace stood, with his face partially concealed in his cloak, to all appearance an unconcerned spectator, till he saw several of his countrymen, who had been baffled by the superior dexterity of their more practised antagonist, afterwards scoffed at, and otherwise insulted by the English soldiery. The feelings which this conduct excited were displayed on the fine expressive countenance of our hero, in such a manner as did not escape the notice of the victor; and the latter, flushed with his success, invited him to a trial of his skill. Wallace readily accepted the challenge; and drawing his sword, prepared for the onset. The ease and grace with which he handled his weapon soon convinced the English that their "buckler-player" had at last engaged in a perilous enterprise. His art and agility appeared unavailing against the cool self-possession of the Scot, who, after a few passes, became the assailant; and a blow, which descended with the rapidity of lightning, laid the arrogant gladiator dead at his feet. This unexpected interruption of their amusement irritated the English; but when they discovered, in the successful combatant, the bold and audacious outlaw with whom they had been so lately engaged, they eagerly crowded round, and endeavoured to prevent his escape. Unappalled by the numbers with whom he was environed, he dealt his blows in all directions with unerring and deadly effect, while his followers, drawing their swords, attacked those who were nearest them with a fury that spread consternation and uproar through the whole assemblage.

The English, finding themselves assailed from so many quarters, conceived that they were surrounded by a multitude of enemies. Wallace, always first in the place of danger, according to the homely, but expressive phraseology of Blind Harry, "*Gret rowme*" about him "*maid*;" and the enemy had already begun to give way, when an additional force from the castle made its appearance. The battle was now renewed with redoubled fury on both sides; and the capture of our hero being the principal object in view, he became the subject of their most inveterate hostility. The few, however,

who ventured within his reach, soon paid the forfeit of their temerity. Having collected his companions in a body, he fearlessly advanced into the centre of the English, diminishing their numbers with every stroke of his broadsword, while his followers pressed with determined ferocity upon those who attempted to intercept him. From the increasing number of his opponents, he at last became apprehensive of having his retreat cut off, if the unequal contest were much longer protracted. Placing himself, therefore, in front of the battle he ordered them to make the best of their way, while he endeavoured to prevent the enemy from harassing their rear. By incredible exertions, they at last regained their post at the outside of the town; and, mounting their horses, they were soon lost to their pursuers amid the shades of Laglane woods, leaving about thirty of the English, among whom were three knights belonging to Northumberland, dead upon the streets of Ayr.

These, and similar exploits, appear to have furnished employment to Wallace, during the time that the English held possession of the country under the nominal authority of the Scottish regency. It will now, however, be necessary to revert to the proceedings on the Border.

CHAPTER IV

ACCESSION OF BALIOL—SIEGE OF BERWICK—BATTLE OF DUNBAR.

1292. THE submission respecting the succession to the crown of Scotland was now drawing near a close. There is reason to believe, that the knowledge of many of the humiliating circumstances, which had occurred during its progress, had been confined, in a great measure, to the parties engaged in it. Enough, however, had transpired to excite the jealousy of the poorer gentry, who having no possessions out of Scotland, considered their honour as inseparably connected with its independence. When the edict, therefore, was proclaimed for a general homage to the King of England, the national degradation became apparent, and the servility of their more powerful representatives was regarded with undissembled mortification. The dangerous practice of allowing the influential barons to hold lands in England, might now be regretted; but the fatal effects were, for the present, beyond the power of remedy. Eager for the removal of the English garrisons, and desirous for the establishment of something like a regular government, the body of the Scottish nation, concealing their chagrin at the conduct of Edward, became anxious for the decision. The machinations of Frazer, and the influence of the Bishop of Durham, at last determined the English king to declare in favour of John Baliol, who received the crown with all humility, and swore fealty to the royal arbiter, as his liege-lord, at Norham, on the 20th November, 1292. On the 30th of the same month he was crowned at Scone; and, on the 26th December following, he again repeated his oath of allegiance at Newcastle.

1293. John, though he had not made a greater sacrifice of the national dignity than the other candidates were prepared to agree to, soon found, on

his return to Scotland, that the station he had been so desirous to attain, was surrounded by cares and difficulties of no ordinary description. The conduct of Edward, too, in continually harassing Baliol with summonses to attend complaints instituted against him in the English courts, on very trifling occasions, was a source of unceasing annoyance; and while the latter reflected on the indignities he had already submitted to, he was conscious of having forfeited every claim to the sympathy or respect of his people, by the sacrifice he had made of their independence. It seemed evident, indeed, that the only chance which remained of recovering their favour, was to renounce the fealty he had sworn, and to afford them an opportunity of effacing, by force of arms, the stigma that had been affixed to their national character.

That this was the feeling of the Scots, is manifest from the alacrity with which they came forward, when Baliol, stung almost to madness by the repeated insults received from his liege-lord, had determined to throw off his allegiance. Levies of Scottish troops had been ordered by Edward to be made and sent to him, in order to be employed in an expedition which he meditated against France. This the newly-crowned vassal had neither the inclination nor the ability to perform; on the contrary, he secretly negotiated an alliance with the French king.

1294. The Scots assembled in parliament at Scone; and, "under the specious pretence of diminishing the public charge, they prevailed on Baliol to dismiss all the Englishmen whom he maintained at his court." "They then appointed a committee of twelve—four bishops, four earls, and four barons—by whose advice all national affairs were to be regulated. If we may credit the English historians, they had a watchful eye over Baliol himself, and detained him in an honourable captivity.*" This latter circumstance, more than any other, evinces the feelings of the people on the occasion.

It would be difficult to say how Wallace was employed at this particular period. It seems probable, that, relieved by the removal of the English from the apprehensions he might have entertained of the consequences of the act of outlawry, he became permanently resident among his relations. In a charter of *James, Lord High Steward of Scotland*, dated in 1294, confirming the donation of the predecessors of Sir Arthur de Denoon† to the monastery of Paisley, the witnesses are, *Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, John, the brother of the Lord High Steward, Sir Arthur de Denoon, Sir Nicolas Campbell, and Sir Reginald Crawford*, Knights; *William de Shaw, Alexander de Normanville*, Esquires. Though Wallace is not mentioned here, yet we have the names of five of his future companions in arms; and it may be doubted if Sir Nicolas Campbell, whose patrimony lay at such a distance, would have made a journey to Paisley for the mere purpose of witnessing a charter in which he had no personal interest, had objects of greater moment not attracted him to the spot;—and possibly, a wish to visit Wallace at Elderslie, of whom, as has been already stated, he was a school-companion and intimate associate, may in a more satisfactory manner account for his appearance on that occa-

* Hailes, p. 284.

† Douglas' Baronage, p. 456.

sion, while the presence of Sir Reginald Crawford, the uncle of Wallace, rather increases the probability of this conjecture. The association of the names of so many parties with whom he was afterwards so closely connected, is at all events a very singular circumstance. The fame he had acquired by the exploits already narrated, and the dangers he had escaped, would no doubt have excited the curiosity and the sympathy of his friends.

1295. The treaty which Baliol negotiated with France was peculiarly offensive to Edward. After stating that the King of Scotland, "grievously affected at the undutiful behaviour of Edward to the King of France his liege-lord," he bound himself to assist King Philip with all his power, and at his own charge, in the event of Edward invading France. Philip also agreed to aid the Scots, if attacked by England, either by making a diversion in their favour, or by sending succours. In this treaty were included the prelates, earls, barons, and other nobles of Scotland, as well as the Universities and distinguished public bodies of that kingdom, who were thereto required to affix their seals*. Indeed it may be considered as truly a national treaty, showing the degree of *surveillance* which the Scots exercised over the conduct of Baliol.

1296. The treaty was soon followed by a solemn renunciation of the homage exacted by Edward; and a numerous army was collected for the invasion of his northern counties. The Scots, though thus eager to come to blows, were by no means in a state of discipline that would enable them successfully to contend with the experienced veterans of England, who had been inured to martial habits in their wars with France, and possessed many advantages over troops that had never seen the face of a foreign enemy. Thirty-three years had elapsed since the battle of Largs; and the residue of those warriors who had distinguished themselves on that occasion, could not now be either very numerous or effective. The country, it is true, teemed with men in the vigour of life, panting to restore the tarnished glory of their country; but although individually brave, and not unacquainted with their weapons, yet, unaccustomed to act in concert, they could neither fully understand their own deficiency, nor sufficiently appreciate the advantages of that discipline which gave the enemy so great a superiority. Under these circumstances, and guided more by the hasty dictates of their own passion than the commands of their leaders, the army of the Scots burst into Cumberland, on 26th March, 1296. The injury done, however, was not very extensive. They assaulted Newcastle, and set fire to the town, but were eventually compelled to a dishonourable retreat.

On the 8th April they also entered Northumberland, plundered Lanercoste and Hexham, and retired in disorder from before Harbottle.

At this time a circumstance of rather a curious nature took place. An English nobleman, Sir Robert de Ros, lord of the Castle of Werk, had become deeply enamoured of a Scottish lady, and,

influenced by the violence of his passion, he deserted the standard of his country, and went over to the Scots. With the intention of gaining the affections of the object of his desire, he endeavoured to seduce his kinsman, William de Ros, from his allegiance. In this, however, he was unsuccessful; for William, after upbraiding him with his baseness, proceeded to the camp at Berwick to inform Edward of the treason, who furnished him with 1000 men, to garrison the Castle of Werk. Robert, in the mean time, had joined the Scots; and learning that the troops sent by Edward were to quarter the following night at Prestfen, on their way, he procured a body of Scots from Roxburgh, and secretly surrounded the village. To enable his followers to recognize each other, he gave them, as a password, "*Tabard and Surcoat*;" commanding, that whoever named the first of these words, if the person to whom he expressed it did not reply by giving the other, he should instantly kill him. With this understanding they entered Prestfen at midnight, and, setting fire to the houses, surprised and cut off the enemy.

Edward, who had now reached Berwick with an army equal in numbers to that of the Scots, and more formidable from its superior discipline, determined to attack the town both by sea and land. His navy was, however, found unequal to the task, and eighteen of his ships were either burnt or disabled. The exasperation † which this discomfiture occasioned in the mind of Edward, increased, if possible, the natural ferocity of his temper, and determined him to lead in person his army to the assault ‡.

* Dugdale.

† Wyntown thus quaintly describes the feelings of Edward, on being told of the loss of his fleet:—

"Quhen the Kyng Edward of England
Had herd of this deidful Tythand,
All breme he belyd in-to berth,
And wrthyd all in wedand werth,
Alsã kobbyd in his crope
As he had ettin ane Attyrcope."

Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 81.

‡ Before the attack, Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham, joined the English army, with 140 knights, 500 horse, and 1000 foot, accompanied by the consecrated banners of St. Cuthbert and St. John of Beverley; the former carried by Henry de Hornecester, a stout monk of Durham, and the latter by Gilbert de Grymesby (so called by the English), a Scottish Vicar of Beverley College, born in the district of Kyle, in Ayrshire,—who had spent a great part of his life in the service of Edward in France, where he had acted as a pursuivant. The banner of St. Cuthbert accompanied the king only on extraordinary occasions. The following description of it may not be unacceptable.

"This banner was fastened to a staff, five yards in length. All the pipes were of silver, to be sliven (*slipt*) on along the banner-staff; and on the uppermost pipe, on the height of it, was a little silver cross, and a goodly banner-cloth pertaining to it, and in the midst of the banner-cloth was a white velvet, half a yard square every way, and a cross of crimson velvet over it, and within the said white velvet was the holy relique, wherewith St. Cuthbert covered the chalice when he said mass, and the residue of the banner-cloth was of crimson velvet, embroidered all over with gold and green silk most sumptuously. It was not carried out but on his anniversary, and some other principal festivals in procession. It was the clerk's office to wait on it in his surplice, with a fair red-painted staff, having a fork or cleft at the upper end,

* Quod tam Prælati quam Comites, Barones et alii nobiles, necnon universitates communitatesque notabiles dicti regni Scotiæ, suas nobis super hoc patentes literas suis munitis sigillis quam citius fieri poterit destinabunt.—*Fœdera*, t. ii. p. 696.

The first attack of the English was repulsed. On the second, a well-concerted stratagem put them in possession of the town, which was given over to pillage, and a frightful and unsparring massacre ensued. Some English writers state, that no less than 40,000 of the inhabitants* were immolated, to assuage the wrath of the victor. Wynthoun, however, may be considered nearer the truth, when he fixes the amount of the carnage at 7,500. Barons and burgesses, nuns and friars, women and children,—all were involved in one indiscriminate and appalling butchery, which continued through the day, and only subsided when the following occurrence rekindled the spark of humanity, which had become extinct in the breast of the unprincipled usurper.

“ Thus thair slayand ware sá fast
All the day, qwhill at the last
This Kyng Edward saw in that tyde
A woman slayne, and of hyr syde
A barne he saw fall out, sprewland
Be-syd that woman slayne lyand.
‘Lasses, Lasses,’ than cryd he;
‘Leve off, leve off,’ that word suld be.”

Wynthoun, vol. ii. p. 83.

This catastrophe, from which Berwick never entirely recovered, took place on *Good Friday*, while the people were preparing for the celebration of that high festival—a circumstance which sufficiently proves that the Scots were taken by surprise. Edward remained at Berwick from the 30th of March till the 27th April, during which time he received the formal renunciation of the allegiance of Baliol, who also published an edict,

which cleft was lined with soft silk, having a down under the silk to prevent it hurting or bruising the pipes of the banner, which were of silver, to take it down and raise it up again, by reason of the weightiness thereof. There were always four men to wait on it, besides the clerk, and divers who carried it. This last wore a strong girdle of white leather, to which the banner was fastened by two pieces of the same, having at each end of them a socket of horn to put the end of the banner-staff into.”—*Hist. and Antiq. of Durham Abbey*, p. 118, 120.

By the Wardrobe Accounts, it appears that the monk who carried the banner of St. Cuthbert into Scotland, was paid 1s. per day,—while he who carried that of St. John was allowed 8½d., and one penny per day to bring it back.

* Knightham says there were 17,000 killed, and that rivulets of blood flowed through the city for two days. Langtoft informs us, that Edward was the first to enter the breach, which he did on his favourite horse, named “Bayard.” He has omitted to say, if “Bayard” was a pale horse. This distinguishing trait seems only a-wanting, to render the description given of this “most pious and clement prince,” no unapt representation of the Grand Destroyer and last enemy of mankind.

The only man of consequence who fell on the side of the English, was Sir Richard de Cornwall. He was killed by a quarrell, shot by a Flemish merchant from the “Red Hall.” This place was a fortified factory or store, occupied by a company of Flemings trading in Berwick, and held by them of the crown of Scotland, on condition of defending it against the English to the last extremity. Their knightly devoirs they bravely performed. The fortress held out the whole day against all the force the English could bring against it. At night it was set on fire, and the faithful little band of trading warriors perished in the flames.

ordering all English ecclesiastics holding benefices in Scotland to quit the country.

On the 27th April, regardless of the atrocities resulting from his guilty ambition, Edward left the shambles at Berwick, and proceeded northward on his desolating career, having previously despatched the Earl of Warren, with 10,000 chosen troops, to reduce the Castle of Dunbar. This fortress, from its strong position, was considered as one of the keys to the kingdom, and had belonged to the Earl of March, a disappointed candidate for the crown, who had now attached himself to the banner of England. His wife, however, possessing more patriotism than her husband, delivered it over, in his absence, to be garrisoned by the King of Scotland. Aware of its importance, Baliol led the army he had collected, amounting to upwards of 40,000 men, to its defence. In the mean time, Sir Richard Seward, the governor, had agreed to deliver it up to Warren in three days, if not relieved. On the third day, the army of Scotland appeared on the heights, and took up a strong position on Downhill, above Dunbar. Warren advanced to attack them; and from having a difficult line of road to traverse, his ranks became irregular. The Scots, from their elevated station, saw the momentary confusion, and foolishly imagined that the English were on the retreat. Under this impression, they abandoned their strong and well-chosen position, and rushed down on the enemy. The English received their disorderly charge with firmness, and repulsed them with slaughter. Broken, and dismayed at their unexpected reception, a great part of the Scots betook themselves to flight. Sir Patrick Graham, however, and a few chivalrous spirits, maintained the unequal contest; and, though mostly cut to pieces, yet the heroism and self-devotion they displayed, extorted the applause, and excited the regret, of their adversaries.

Though there be no direct evidence of the fact, yet there is reason to conjecture, that both Wallace and his brother were present at the battle of Dunbar. It has already been shown, from respectable authority, that Sir Malcolm outlived his father; and, in the work of the Minstrel, we have an account, though rather obscure, of the manner in which he met his death. He is represented as surrounded by a multitude of enemies, and bravely defending himself on his knees, with all the energy of despair, after he had been hamstrung, in order to prevent his escape. Being at last borne down by a mass of spearmen, he was unmercifully put to death*. Though Henry does not mention when this took place, yet, from the previous comparative tranquillity which reigned in the country, the conflict of Dunbar appears most likely to have been the scene of so deadly a struggle; and the close intimacy which Wallace afterwards maintained with the family of Graham, may have originated in the circumstance of his brother and himself having been among the few who stood by their chief, Sir Patrick †, on this disastrous occasion.

The banner of Sir Richard Seward (*black, with a white cross flowered at the ends*) ‡ still floated on

* Henry, Buke Fyrst, p. 10, 11.

† Some accounts say that Sir Patrick Graham was the elder brother of the gallant Sir John.

‡ Walter of Exeter.

the battlements of the Castle of Dunbar. To this place many of the Scottish barons fled for refuge. The protection they received, however, was of short duration. The fortress, according to agreement, was surrendered to Warren. On this Lord Hailes remarks, "Our historians impute this also to treachery; and they accuse the Governor, Richard Seward. But this charge is manifestly unjust. Seward had agreed to surrender the castle, if it was not relieved within three days; and it was not relieved." His Lordship is sometimes rash in bringing charges against the historians of his country. The treason of Seward did not consist in delivering the castle, according to agreement, but in *making that agreement*. There is enough in the fact of his consenting to surrender one of the strongest and most commanding fortresses in the country, in so short a time, to warrant the charge they have made against him. That the Scots nobles were ignorant of the terms, is evident from their flying to it, after the battle, as to a place of safety, which they would not have done, had they known that they were instantly to be delivered over in chains to the mercy of the enemy. Seward could have no certainty of his being succoured in three days, as the Scottish army, according to his Lordship's account, only came in sight "on the third day;" and if any accident had detained it, Dunbar must have been surrendered on the day following. Besides, if Lord Hailes had referred to Vol. II. p. 274, 275, of the Chronicle of Peter Langtoft, an Englishman, and a favourite authority of his own, he would have found not only the statement of Scottish authors confirmed, but a regular detailed account of the treason. That his Lordship, in the face of such evidence, should have charged the Scottish historians with doing what was "*manifestly unjust*," can only be imputed to that singular predilection towards whitewashing the negro, which his Lordship has displayed on so many occasions.

1296. Ten thousand Scots were slain at this memorable battle, and a vast number were made prisoners, among whom were many of the principal nobility of the kingdom, who were sent to the South in chains, and distributed among the prisons of England and Wales. Baliol, after performing a most degrading feudal penance, and imploring the clemency of his conqueror, was sent prisoner, along with his son Edward, to the Tower of London, having previously resigned the kingdom and the people of Scotland into the hands of Edward. Thus terminated the brief and unfortunate reign of John Baliol, who had aspired to a sceptre he had neither the judgment nor the energy to wield. With a spirit subdued before the commanding genius of Edward, any efforts he made to regain the independence he had relinquished, were rather forced upon him, by the impatience of his people to the English yoke, than the result of any unanimous resolution of his own. Though possessing qualities that might have graced the seclusion of private life, he was destitute of those talents which were required in the discharge of the duties of a sovereign.

Selected by Edward from the other competitors, more on account of the natural timidity of his character than the superior justice of his claim, it is impossible to look on the degradation that was inflicted on him, without feeling disgusted at the

total want of generosity which marked the character of the English monarch. Listening to the *interested* advice of the Bishop of Durham*, who counselled him to set aside the claim of Bruce, because the talents and spirit of the latter might be troublesome, he arrayed Baliol in the trappings of royalty; and, while he insulted the tame unresisting puppet he had created, he fancied himself trampling with impunity on the hitherto unsullied majesty of a free people.

The destruction of Berwick, and the discomfiture at Dunbar, laid Scotland prostrate at the feet of her invader, who marched triumphantly through the kingdom, receiving the homage of the terrified chieftains, and placing garrisons in the deserted fortresses; while churchmen of all grades, earls, barons, knights, and esquires, hastened to avert his displeasure, by taking the oath of allegiance, and renouncing the French alliance.

On the 6th June†, Edward besieged and took the Castle of Edinburgh, in which he found the regalia, consisting of the crown, sceptre, and cloth of gold. On the 14th, he was at Stirling and Linlithgow. On the 24th July, he encamped on the banks of the Spey. He was at Elgin on the 26th, where he remained two days. He was at Aberbrothick on the 5th August, and again at Stirling on the 14th, at Edinburgh on the 17th, and at Berwick on the 22d, having spent twenty-one weeks in his progress of subjugation‡. For the final settlement of his conquest, he appointed John, Earl of Warren, lieutenant or guardian of the kingdom; Hugh de Cressingham, an avaricious ecclesiastic, treasurer; William Ormsby, justiciary; Henry de Percy, keeper of the county of Galloway and sheriffdom of Ayr; while Robert de Clifford had charge of the eastern districts. The ancient Great Seal of Scotland, surrendered by Baliol at Brechin, was broken in pieces, and a new seal in place of it was presented to Walter de Agmondesham, as chancellor.

The conduct of these ministers was ill-calculated to secure the conquest which the policy and talents of their master had achieved. Haughty and rapacious themselves, they imposed little restraint on the licentious soldiery, who lorded it over the wretched inhabitants with the most intolerable brutality. While property of every description was held by the frail tenure of the will of the usurpers, outrages were committed on the domestic feelings of the oppressed, which the delicacy of modern writers has withdrawn from the page of history. Neither was this galling oppression confined to the common people; the cup of misery went round; and the noblest of the land partook of its unmingled bitterness. The unlimited exactions of Cressingham, and the little control he exercised over his underlings, soon banished commerce from the Scottish shores. Deprived, by his impolitic proceedings, of this lucrative branch of the national resources, with whetted appetite for plunder, he turned upon the wretched and already impoverished inhabitants, who looked in vain to their nobles for that protection afforded them in times past. Those chieftains who would have stepped forward in their defence, had either fallen beneath the axe of the executioner, or were languishing out the prime of their existence in the distant dungeons of the invader.

* Wynthorn.

† Stowe.

‡ Vide Appendix to Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. i.

The fiendish policy that instigated the massacre of the Minstrels of Wales, lest their strains should animate their countrymen to revolt, had also suggested the idea of depriving the Scots of the monuments* of their ancient glory. The nobility still

* The object of the greatest national importance, and of the most venerable antiquity, which he carried off on this occasion, was the *Lia-faile*, called also *Clach na cineamhuinn* (fatal stone), on which the Kings of Scotland, from the earliest ages of their monarchy, had been crowned. At the ceremony of their inauguration, a *seanachaidh*, or heraldic bard, clothed in a robe of sky-blue, stood before the *Lia-faile*, and recited to the king, as he sat on it, the genealogy of the Kings of Scotland, from the foundation of their dynasty. The last performance of this ancient Celtic custom was at the coronation of Alexander III. The person who officiated on that occasion is said to have had on a scarlet robe. This, however, was not the colour used by the Celts for that office. The person of the heraldic bard was sacred above all others, and he wore sky-blue as emblematic of peace. The early history of the *Lia-faile* is involved in the obscurity of fable, and no small degree of sacredness has been attached to it from the connexion it is supposed to have with the destinies of the Scots. The following Druidical Oracle is considered as first giving currency to this belief.

Cioniodh scuit saor an fine,
Man ba breag an Faisdine,
Mar a bh' fhuighid an lia-fail,
Dighid fathas do ghabhail.

Which Hector Boethius has thus rendered into Latin :

Ne fallat fatum, Scoti quocunq; locatum
Invenient lapidem hunc, regnare tenentur ibidem.

English Translations.

Except old saws do feign,
And wizards' wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reign,
Where they this stone shall find.

Consider, Scot, where'er you find this stone,
If fates fail not (or lie not), there fix'd must be your throne.

Another from Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 527.

The Scottis sall bruke that realme, as natyve Ground,
(Geif weirdis fayll nocht) quhair cuir this chiar is found.

That part of the history of the *Lia-faile* which is considered authentic, may soon be told.—It was at an early period brought from Ireland to Dunstaffnage; from thence to Scone, in 842, by Kenneth II.; and, lastly, to Westminster, in 1296. In the Wardrobe Account of Edward, for March, 1299, there is the following entry of a payment to "Walter the painter, for a step to the foot of the *New Chair*, in which the *Stone of Scotland* was placed, near the altar, before the shrine of St. Edward, in Westminster Abbey, and to the carpenters and painters painting the said step; and the gold and colours to paint it with; and making a case to cover the said chair, L. 1 : 19 : 7."—*Remarks on the Wardrobe Account*, page xli. Walsingham says, that the use Edward put it to, was to serve as a chair for the celebrating priests at Westminster.

In the treaty of peace between Robert Bruce and Edward III., there is a particular stipulation for the restoration of this Stone. The Londoners, however, had taken a fancy to it, and excited a commotion to prevent its removal; and Robert had no difficulty to persuade his people to waive the performance of the agreement. Indeed, so deep-rooted has been the belief of the Scots in the augury attached to it, that many looked upon the accession of James to the British throne as the fulfilment of the prediction. Even in the pre-

remained tame spectators of this fresh outrage, and relaxed not in their supple assiduities to conciliate the favour of the tyrant. Thus abandoned by those who ought to have been her protectors, the distracted country, crushed and bleeding at every pore, lay convulsed within the coils of this human *Boa*. But that Providence which "ruleth in the kingdoms of men," had foreseen her calamity, and prepared a deliverer, with personal qualifications beyond the common lot of men, and a mind unendowed with every requisite for the mighty undertaking.

CHAPTER V.

WALLACE AGAIN TAKES REFUGE IN THE WOODS.—ORGANIZES A SYSTEM OF WARFARE.—HARASSES THE ENGLISH IN THEIR CANTONMENTS.—CONFLICT OF BEG.—BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF HIS EARLY COMPANIONS.—HIS DRESS AND ARMOUR.—ANECDOTE OF THE RELATIVE PERSONAL PROWESS OF WALLACE AND BRUCE.

WALLACE, who had been stigmatized by the English as an outlaw and a robber, found it necessary, after the battle of Dunbar, to withdraw to his former mountainous retreat, from whence he would, no doubt, observe the gaudy pageant of the feudal power of England, as it traversed the devoted land in all the insolent security of conquest. And while the national distress deepened around, and every tale that reached him was fraught with tidings of the misery of his enslaved and degraded countrymen, the resources of the enemy, and the possibility of emancipating the beloved land of his nativity, formed the subject of his unceasing reflections. He had observed, that the reverses which the Scots had sustained in the field, arose more from a want of subordination and discipline among themselves, than from any superior valour on the part of their enemies. He was aware of, and deeply lamented, the jealousy and treachery which existed among the nobility, and their readiness to stoop in the most servile manner* to the will of the Usurper, if they might thereby obtain

sent day, when there is so much anxiety evinced for the recovery of objects held in national estimation, we do not hear of any application being made to his majesty for the restoration of the *Lia-faile*. There is no doubt but many of those who witnessed the original aggression, would console themselves with the reflection, that the "*Lang-shanked Southerone*" had caught a Tartar.

* The servility of the Scottish Barons was not always unrequited. By the Rottuli Scotiae, 19 Edward I. *et passim* 24, it appears he gave obligations of the following import:—

	<i>Annual Value.</i>
To the Bishop of Glasgow, lands of . . .	£. 100
To James the Steward	100
To Patrick Earl of Dunbar	100
To John de Soulis	100 merks.
To William Sinclair	100
To Patrick de Graham	100
To William de Soulis	100

Edward afterwards changed his plan, and gave these barons and prelates gratifications in money, or other value. But to John Comyn the King gave the enormous sum of £1563. 14s. 6½d.—*Tytler's Hist.* vol. i. p. 99.

even a temporary exaltation for their party; and he justly conceived, that by banding together a few resolute spirits, allied to no faction, but, like himself, attached to the general good, that more could be done toward the restoration of his country's independence, than by all the tumultuous hordes which the treacherous and disunited chieftains could bring together. Fully impressed with this conviction, his days and nights were passed in extending the number of his followers, and in organizing a system of warfare, which was soon destined to spread terror and dismay among the invaders. The *élite* of every district were instructed and disciplined in a manner peculiarly his own. With the simple, but well-known sounds of his bugle-horn, he could regulate all their operations. At the appearance of danger, he could disperse them, to seek more secure retreats,—or rally them around him, as circumstances might require. This mode of discipline, either by himself or his most trusty associates, he secretly extended over a great part of the Lowlands of Scotland; so that either amidst the fastnesses of Carrick, the deep recesses of Cartland, or on the shores of the Lomond, the rallying note of their country's liberator was followed by the prompt appearance of well-armed warriors at their respective places of muster.

The prowess which he had displayed in his encounters with the English—his almost miraculous escapes—and the prediction given out in the name of the Seer of Ereildowne*, of his being destined to deliver Scotland from the tyranny of England,—all conspired to excite the hopes, and gain him the confidence, of the less wealthy classes of his countrymen.

His tactics were admirably fitted for harassing the foes he had to contend with. The fortresses in their possession were surrounded by secret enemies, ever on the watch to discover and convey to their leader any information that might enable him to way-lay their convoys, or surprise them in their strongholds. It was in vain the warders kept watch on their lofty stations: distant as the eye could reach, no enemy appeared, no foreboding sound met their ear, to warrant them in disturbing the tranquillity of the revellers within. Far in the woodlands, the sound of a horn might be heard; but it passed away unregarded, as proceeding from some lonely forester going his rounds. The draw-bridge is let down to admit fuel or provisions for the garrison;—the loads are thrown in the entrance of the gate;—the porter knocked on the head, and the burden-bearers bristle into resolute or well-armed assailants;—the wine-cup is dashed from the hands of the astonished governor, who is only made sensible of his situation by the carnage that ensues;—the castle demolished, and the spoil

divided among his followers, who are now allowed to return home. Wallace, meanwhile, attended perhaps by a few select worthies, pursues his way, to call forth the avenging swords of his adherents, in some more remote part of the kingdom.

Such were the fruits of that admirable system of warfare which Wallace was engaged in explaining and enforcing at the meetings of his nonjuring countrymen, during the winter of 1296, and which it has been thought proper to allude to at this stage of the history, in order that the reader may be able to comprehend the possibility of certain of those exploits which afterwards obtained for the heroic champion of the Scots, the applause and admiration of mankind.

The spring of 1297 had scarcely set in before the *guerrilla*-parties thus formed began to molest the invaders; and so persevering and successful were their attacks, that in a very short time, throughout the whole range of the forest of Clydesdale, Wallace and his followers held undisputed sway; and, emerging from parts least expected by the enemy, surprised and cut off their convoys. The English garrison which occupied Bothwell Castle made several attempts to drive them from their concealments in the woods, but all their efforts had ended in discomfiture and disgrace; while the prisoners left in the hands of the Scots were hung up at different parts, along the skirts of the forest, as a warning to all hostile intruders. These proceedings of the insurgents alarmed and perplexed the English, as it kept them in profound ignorance of the numbers they had to cope with. Left to their own conjectures, their heated imaginations peopled the impenetrable recesses of the woods with swarms of fierce and merciless enemies, headed by a chief against whose sword the strongest of their armour afforded but a feeble protection.

While the Scots were thus engaged, their leader received advice that a strong convoy was on its way from England for the supply of the garrison of Ayr, under the command of Fenwick, the person who headed the attack so fatal to Sir Malcolm Wallace. Roused by the hopes of avenging the death of his father, our hero determined to way-lay the party. For this purpose he selected fifty of those on whose strength and courage he could place the greatest reliance; and thus attended, he set forward to occupy a position on the road the enemy had to pass. It was night when the little band of patriots reached the spot from whence they meant to make their attack; but hearing nothing of the advance of Fenwick, he ordered his men to take shelter for the night in a neighbouring wood. The morning was pretty far advanced, when two scouts, whom Wallace had sent forward at day-break, returned with the intelligence that the enemy was at hand. Having arranged his men for the onset, his friend, John Blair, offered up prayers for their success, which were scarcely over before the English came in sight. Fenwick, on observing the small body of Scots that awaited his approach, felt perfectly assured of taking them, and the far-famed chieftain, whom he suspected to be their leader, prisoners with him to Ayr; and congratulated himself on the satisfaction which the capture of the bold outlaw would afford to his superiors. This pleasing reverie was, however, disturbed by a rapid movement of the Scots, who, charging with their long spears, threw his advance

* Prophetic announcements respecting him were also, at an after period, sent abroad by the Scottish clergy.—“*Nam revelatione mirifica ostensum est sibi dignioribus diversis, sanctissimum apostolum Andream, regni Scotiae, protectorem et patronum, dicto Willielmo Wallace gladium cruentatum manu alter commisisse, stricte sibi præcipiendo eo utrobique uti ad defensionem regni Anglicos propulsando.—Custos itaque effectus, misit manum suam ad fortia, Anglicos prosternens, Anglicatos reconcilians, oppressos relevans, et quotidianis incrementis proficiens.*” *MS. Curprensis.* See *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. p. 170.—This vision of St. Andrew is also taken notice of by Blind Harry.—*Vide Buke Seywynd*, v. 57.

into confusion, and, following up their advantage with the most daring intrepidity, carried disorder to the very centre of his squadron; where, undismayed by the superior numbers that surrounded them, Wallace and his brave companions fought with all the fury of exasperated lions. The repeated charges of the English were repulsed and returned with such increasing vigour and resolution as alarmed and confounded their commander. Wherever he turned his eyes, the sword of the Scottish chief seemed clearing a path toward him; helmet after helmet disappeared beneath his ponderous weapon; and the whole exertion of his mighty arm seemed directed towards the hated Fenwick. Conscious of the justice of that vengeance which inspired our hero with more than usual ferocity, the English chief would gladly have avoided a personal encounter. His attempts to escape, however, were in vain,—the brand of the vengeful Scot reached him at last; and the blow, though broke by the intervening sword of a trooper, fell with a sufficient force to strike him from the saddle. Falling on the opposite side of the horse, Wallace had not the satisfaction of giving the death-blow;—this was an honour reserved for Robert Boyd, one of his most intimate companions. Although Fenwick was thus slain, yet the conflict continued with great obstinacy. The English, under one Bowmond, who was second in command, made great efforts to retrieve the advantages they had lost. The Scots, however, maintained their ground with inflexible resolution, while the sword of their chief was rapidly increasing the gaps in the ranks of their enemies. Adam Wallace, the promising heir of Riccardtoun *, had the good fortune to come in contact with the leader of the English; and, after an obstinate engagement, the intrepid Bowmond fell beneath the hand of the youthful Scot. Deprived of their leaders, the English now fled in the utmost confusion, leaving one hundred of their companions on the field. The Scots pursued them only so far as to make their victory certain; and, returning to the spoil, found their labours amply rewarded. A numerous train of waggons, loaded with flour, wine, and all sorts of provisions, with warlike stores in abundance, and two hundred draught-horses, besides money and other valuables, fell into the hands of the victors, who, after dividing their booty, and appropriating part of it to the relief of the oppressed inhabitants in the neighbourhood, departed to secure the remainder in their inaccessible retreats among the then extensive forests of Clydesdale.

The result of this affair with Fenwick was not less encouraging to the Scots, than prejudicial to the English. The valuable convoy, which the latter had been thus deprived of, was a subject of serious regret to Percy; more particularly, as it appeared irretrievable—his foraging parties having already exhausted the district under his control, and reduced the inhabitants to the most wretched

expedients, in order to maintain their miserable existence. The fields remained in a great measure uncultivated; and those among the commons who were fortunate enough to possess a cow, endeavoured to conceal her as their only resource. The poor starveling was bled as often as nature would permit; and the blood, boiled to a consistency, formed almost the sole repast of the unhappy owners. Percy, already aware of the impoverished situation of the country, had husbanded the resources of the garrison, in order to make them hold out till the arrival of the expected supplies. Under these circumstances, his disappointment may be easily conceived, when the disordered remains of Fenwick's party arrived at Ayr without a leader, to give an account of their disaster, every man being at liberty to tell his own story; and, as might be expected, all of them agreed in exaggerating the number of the Scots, and the gigantic stature and strength of their chief. Percy, even from the most favourable view of the affair, could only see the embarrassing situation in which he was placed. The uncertainty of procuring supplies by land was but too evident; and to bring them by sea was equally precarious, as the Scottish ships were still numerous on the coast, and had not acknowledged the sovereignty of Edward, but in the unsettled state of the country, continued to capture all the English vessels that came in their tract.

In this battle, which was fought at a place called Beg *, above Allanton, in the parish of Galston, few of any note among the Scots were slain. Of those present on the occasion, the following names have been handed down—Sir Andrew Murray, Sir William Douglas, Robert Boyd, Alexander Scrimgeor, Roger Kilpatrick, Alexander Auchinleck, Walter Newbigging, Stephen of Ireland, Hugh Dundas, John Kneland or Cleland, Ruthven, Sir David Barclay, Adam Curry, John Blair, and Thomas Gray. In justice, therefore, to these brave and early confederates of our hero, we shall appropriate the remaining part of this chapter, to such notices of them as our scanty materials may afford. The following account of the first of those worthies is taken from the Peerage and Baronage of Scotland.

Sir Andrew de Moravia, dominus de Bothwell, succeeded his brother Sir William Murray, in the Lordship of Bothwell. This Sir William was chamberlain to Alexander III., and a man of singular merit; but dying without issue in 1294, he was succeeded by his no less meritorious brother, who also filled the office of chamberlain under the short reign of Baliol. Sir Andrew married a daughter of Sir John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, by whom he had two sons, Sir Andrew and Sir Wil-

* "Riccardtoun is evidently a corruption of Richardtown. It is generally said to have been so called from a Sir Richard Wallace, who lived in the vicinity of the village, and who is said to have been uncle to the celebrated patriot, Sir William Wallace. Of his house no vestige now remains. The place, however, where it stood is well known. The village of Riccardtown is within one mile of the market-town of Kilmarnock."—*Stat. Acc.* vol. vi. p. 117.

* "Among other antiquities, there may be mentioned a place called Beg, above Allinton, where the brave Wallace lay in a species of rude fortification, with only fifty of his friends, yet obtained a complete victory over an English officer of the name of Fenwick, who had two hundred men under his command. This gallant hero, it is well known, had several places of retirement towards the head of this parish, and in the neighbourhood, some of which still retain his name to this day. Wallace-hill, in particular, an eminence near Galla-law, a place called Wallace-Gill, in the parish of Loudoun, a hollow glen to which he probably retired for shelter, when pursued by his enemies."—*Stat. Acc.* vol. ii. p. 74.

liam, the former of whom was associated in the command of the Scottish army when led by Wallace to the invasion of England. He also was chamberlain to Bruce, and regent of the kingdom in the minority of David II. He married Lady Christian Bruce, sister of the immortal King Robert, by whom he had two sons, John and Robert. His brother William was the progenitor of the Murrays of Abercainrie. The present "Sir Andrew sat in parliament in 1290, and appears to have sworn fealty to Edward 1291. When Sir William Wallace raised the standard of national independence, and when the other powerful barons deserted the cause, he was the only person of consequence who adhered to Wallace."

Sir William Douglas, designated the Hardy, succeeded his brother Hugh. He was also known by the name of *Long Leg*, and reckoned to be a very handsome and powerful man, surpassing most of his countrymen in stature. He appears to have been present in the Parliament at Brigham in 1289, as his name is appended to the letter addressed by "the community of Scotland," to Edward I., as "*Guillaume de Douglas*." He swore fealty to Edward in the Chapel of Thurston, 5th July 1291. His first wife was Elizabeth, a near connexion of the Steward of Scotland, who died shortly after her marriage. His second was Eleanor, the widow of William de Ferrier. She being a ward of the English crown, had an assignation of the manors of Stubbings and Woodham Ferriers in Essex (part of her husband's lands), until she should have her dowry set forth; which being soon after assigned to her, she came to Scotland, there to obtain her right to such lands as her husband had possessed in that kingdom. But being at Trant (the manor-house of Helen la Zusche), expecting the like assignation, Sir William de Douglas came and forcibly carried her off*. As the lady had made oath before she left England, not to marry without the royal consent;—to save appearances, and to preserve her property, a complaint was made of the aggression, and Edward sent his precept to the sheriff of Northumberland, to seize all the goods and chattels of the said William de Douglas which were in his bailiwick; but shortly after, in 1291, in consequence of a fine of 100*l.* to the King, his permission was obtained. In 1296, Sir William had the command of the Castle of Berwick, which he surrendered to the English, being allowed to march out with the honours of war, after taking an oath never to bear arms against England. Such oaths, however, in that age, it was reckoned more dishonourable to keep than to break. The following account of some of his exploits is from Hume of Godscroft's History of the House of Douglas:—

"When he" (Sir William) "heard that William Wallace was risen up, and had taken open banner against the English, he joined with him; by which accession of forces, Wallace's army was much increased and strengthened. Yet they were not always together; but, according to the occasion, and as opportunity did offer, they did divide their companies, and went to several places, where they hoped to get best advantage of the enemy, and where there needed no great army, but some few companies at once. In these adventures, Lord

William recovered from the English the castles of Desdier and Sanquhair.

"The manner of his taking the castle of Sanquhair is said to have been thus:—There was one Anderson that served the castle, and furnished them with wood and fuel, and had daily access to it upon that occasion. The Lord Douglas directs one of his trustiest and stoutest servants to deal with him, or to find some means to betray the castle to him, and to bring him within the gates only.

"Anderson, either persuaded by entreaty, or corrupted with money, gave my Lord's servant, called Thomas Dickson, his apparel and carriages, who, coming to the castle, was let in by the porter for Anderson. Dickson stabbed the porter, and gave the signal to his Lord, who lay near by with his companions, set open the gates, and received them into the court. They, being entered, killed the captain and the whole of the English garrison, and so remained masters of the place. The captain's name was Beauford, a kinsman of his own Lady Ferrars, who had oppressed the country that lay near him very insolently. One of the English that had been in the castle, escaping, went to the other garrisons that were in other castles and towns adjacent, and told them what had befallen his fellows, and withal informed them how the castle might be recovered. Whereupon, joining their forces together, they came and besieged it. Lord Douglas, finding himself straitened, and unprovided of necessaries for his defence, did secretly convey his man Dickson out at a postern, or some hidden passage, and sent him to William Wallace for aid. Wallace was then in Lennox, and, hearing of the danger Douglas was in, made all haste he could to come to his relief. The English, having notice of Wallace's approach, left the siege, and retired towards England; yet not so quickly but that Wallace, accompanied by Sir John Graham, did overtake them, and killed five hundred of their number before they could pass Dalswinton. By these, and such like means, Wallace, with his assistants, having beaten the English from most part of their strengths in Scotland, did commit the care and custody of the whole country, from Drumlanrig to Ayr, to the charge of the Lord Douglas. Now, however, there be no mention of these things in our chronology; yet, seeing the Book of Wallace (which is more particular in many things) speaks of them, and the charter of the house of Symington, descended lineally of the said Thomas Dickson, who, for this and his other like services done to the Lord, and afterward to his good son, Sir James, got the twenty merk land of Hesle-side, which his posterity doth still enjoy, holding of the Lords of Douglas and Angus; and there is no doubt to be made, but he hath done much more in his assistance he gave Wallace, than is recorded or extant any where; there being no likelihood that, in these so busy times, these two valiant and brave warriors did lie idle, although the particulars lie buried in deep silence." The above account is fully confirmed by the manuscript history of the House of Douglas, written by Thomas Chambers, who adds, that "Sir William, before the battle of Falkirk, was betrayed into the hands of the English, and conveyed to Berwick, and from thence to York, where he was kept close prisoner in the castle until his death, which took place in 1302, and was

* Dugdale, vol. i. p. 266.

buried in a little chapel (now decayed) at the south end of the bridge." The banner of Douglas was "*azure a chiffe sylveir.**"

Sir Robert Boyd, or Boyl.—This bold and hardy warrior was also one of those who swore fealty to Edward I., when he overran Scotland in 1296; but throwing off his disgraceful allegiance in 1297, he became ever after the inseparable companion of Wallace. His father, in consequence of the gallantry he displayed at the battle of Largs, obtained a grant of lands in Cunningham from Alexander III., and was the near neighbour of Sir Raynald Crawford of Crosby †, the uncle of Wallace; the castles of the two families could communicate signals with each other.

Knealand, or Cleland, Edward Little and Thomas Haliday, all near relatives of Wallace, whose names are frequently mentioned with applause by the authors who write of this period.

Stephen of Ireland.—This brave and useful soldier, is sometimes called Stephen Ireland; but this is only by modern writers. Blind Harry, and other ancient authors, invariably designate him as *of Ireland*. It is highly probable that he was one of those self-expatriated Irish noblemen, whose love of liberty induced them to seek, in foreign countries, what they could no longer hope for at home. Whatever his birth may have been, he appears to have come to Scotland at an early period, perhaps in the reign of Alexander III., and seems, from his being occasionally employed as a guide in the expeditions of Wallace, to have had such a knowledge of the country, as could only be acquired by a long residence in it. Through all the variety of fortunes which attended Sir William Wallace, and amid the desertions of some of his opulent countrymen, Stephen of Ireland adhered to him with inflexible fidelity, and also induced others of his countrymen to come over to the assistance of the Scots.

John Blair and Thomas Gray.—The former of these worthy ecclesiastics has already been mentioned as the schoolfellow of our hero. After quitting Dundee, he went to finish his studies at Paris, where, under the most eminent masters of the day, his progress did not belie the early promise of his genius; and he returned to Scotland a confirmed patriot, and an accomplished scholar. The latter had the pastoral charge of Libertown, yet considered it no dereliction from his duties to attend and assist in the emancipation of his country. Of his literary talents we have reason to form the highest opinion, from the circumstance of John Blair admitting him into the honour of assisting in com-

* Froisart.

† The ruins which are now called Crosby Castle, are situated in the district of Cunningham, within a short distance of the village of West Kilbride. They occupy part of the ground on which stood the old castle belonging to Sir Raynald Crawford. By the date on the wall, it seems to have undergone repairs in 1676. The present building has never been a place of great strength. From the appearance of the ground, however, and other indications in the neighbourhood, the former castle must have been of a different character. On the edge of a deep precipitous glen, well adapted for concealment, it afforded every facility for eluding the pursuit of an enemy. A noisy brook dashes from rock to rock down the dark and well-wooded ravine, whose craggy sides must often have witnessed the meeting of Wallace and his associates.

posing the history of their far-famed friend. This work, though it now goes all under the name of Blair, was then known to have been the joint composition of these worthies. Where Thomas Gray received his education, is a matter of uncertainty; but it is highly probable that he also finished his studies along with his friend at Paris, and returned with him to Scotland; as we hear nothing of him previous to the encounter with Fenwick. It is not unlikely that, on this occasion, John Blair was installed in his office of chaplain; and that he got this preference from the circumstance of the other being already provided for, as they both appear, from their learning and patriotism, to have been equally deserving of the affection and confidence of their countrymen.

Alexander Scrimgeour.—This faithful patriot was the representative of an ancient and respectable family in the neighbourhood of Dundee; and as he most probably received his education along with Wallace, he would no doubt have been one of the association already alluded to. He enjoyed, in right of his ancestors, the honour of carrying the banner of Scotland; and for his faithful discharge of this duty, he was afterwards appointed by Wallace to the office of Constable* of Dundee; which honour being hereditary, remained in the family till after the restoration of Charles II., when the representative of the family was created Earl of Dundee; on whose death, without immediate issue, the heirs were unjustly deprived of their honours and immunities. The family, however, continues to be represented by the Scrimgeours of Birkhill, now the Wedderburns of that ilk.—*Stat. Acc.* vol. viii. p. 239.

Walter Newbigging, otherwise Gualter de Somerville.—This gentleman was of English extraction, and the son of William de Somerville, Baron of Linton, and Margaret Newbigging, heiress of that ilk, the daughter of Walter Newbigging, which lands he inherited in right of his mother. This accounts for his being called Walter Newbigging, or of Newbigging. His father, William de Somerville, distinguished himself at the battle of Largs, and was a constant attendant at the court of Alexander III., with whom he was in high favour, and held the office of grand falconer, a place at that time of considerable importance. Walter, the subject of our present inquiries, received from his father a *ten merk land* within the barony of Linton, which enabled him to make an early appearance at court, where his good qualities and noble deportment attracted the notice of Alexander, from whose hand he received the honour of knighthood, and distinguished himself at the tournament held shortly

* The Charter of Wallace, by which Scrimgeour held the Constabulary of Dundee, is still in existence, and will be given in this work.

The peculiarities of a constable's office, are thus enumerated in *Bray's History of Surrey*, vol. iii. p. 136. "In an instrument of William de Wickham, dated at Eshu, 19 January 1379, 3 Richard II., by which he appointed William de Wimbledon constable, the duty of his office is stated to be, to keep, govern, and oversee the castle, together with the manor, lordship, lands, franchises, liberties, parks, chases, warrens, &c. belonging to the same; also to hold the courts and to prosecute, challenge, claim, and defend all rights and franchises belonging to the bishop and church of Winchester within the said bailiwick."

after in honour of the marriage of Prince Alexander with the daughter of the Earl of Flanders, at Roxburgh Castle. While in attendance at court, he formed an acquaintance with Sir David Barclay of Towie, in Aberdeenshire, whose sister Effie, or Euphemia, he afterwards married in 1281; and at Aberdeen, the same year, he entered into a bond of manrent, or manred, as it was sometimes called, with his brother-in-law. These obligations were very common among the gentry of Scotland, and often productive of great disorder in the country. By this marriage he had a son named David, whom he devoted to the cause of his country's independence, when he himself joined the standard of Wallace. This youth we shall afterwards have occasion to notice. It may not be improper to remark, that Somerville, the author of "The Chase," was a scion from the English stock of this ancient and respectable family.

David de Barclay.—Abercromby mentions a Sir Fergus Barclay, as being one of the early adherents of Wallace; but there is reason to believe he is partly in error. Sir David Barclay, as we have already seen; was brother-in-law to Sir Walter Newbigging, with whom he had entered into a bond of manrent, by which they were mutually bound to appear in arms in support of the same cause, provided it was not against the royal prerogative. When we find both the surnames associated together on this occasion, we may reasonably suppose they are the same persons who contracted the obligation, and had thought the present a very proper opportunity for acting upon it*.

Hugh de Dundas was the son of Serle de Dundas, who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296 and in 1300. His son, Sir Hugh, was a man of singular merit and fortitude, and joined the brave Sir William Wallace in defence of the liberties of Scotland, and embraced every opportunity to exert his courage against the enemies of his country. He died in the reign of King Robert Bruce, and was succeeded by his son.—*Douglas's Scottish Baronage.*

After the foregoing brief notices of the early companions of Wallace, the curious reader may not be displeased, if, before concluding this chapter, we present some account of the dress and armour in which our hero appeared at the battle of Bannockburn. The following description is from *The Minstrel*, and is given with a minuteness which induces a belief that it is a literal translation from the work of

* The following is a copy of the "band of manrent" alluded to, from the original Latin, in the possession of the family of Somerville.

"Be it kend till all men be thir present letters, me, Sir Walter of Newbigging, and me, Sir David of Towie, for all the dayes of our lyves to be obleiged and bound be the faith of our bodies and thir present letters in mandred, and sworne counsell as brothers in law, to be with one another in all actions, causes, and quarrells pertaininge to us, both in peace and in warr, against all that lyves and dyes, excepting our alleageance to our soveraigne lord the king. In witness of the whilk thing, and of ther present letters, we have hung to our sealles, at Aberdeen, the twentieth day of Apryle, the year of God 1281, before ther witnesses, William Somervill, our brother, and John Somervill and Thomas Stelfeir." To this band of mandrey is appended two sealles, very legible and knowne, for the Somervills and Barclayes differed nothing from what they are at present, save a little in the placing of the armes.—*Memorie of the Somervills*, vol. i. p. 75, 76.

Blair, so often mentioned;—it is at least of value, not only from its containing the ideas entertained on the subject by a man of no mean genius, upwards of three hundred years ago, but as it also agrees with the description elsewhere handed down of the kind of armour in use at the period:—

"A habergione vndyr his goune he war,
A steyle caplyne in his bonet but mar;
His glowis of plait in claitth war couerit weil,
In his doublet a closs coler of steyle;
His face he keptit, for it was enuir bar,
With his twa handis, the quhilk full worthi war."

Buke Thryd, p. 31.

The "*habergione*" was a piece of defensive armour early in use among the Scots, and even worn by some Highlanders and Isle-men so late as the seventeenth century. It was a sort of chain or ringed mail, extremely light and flexible, allowing the greatest freedom to the motions of the wearer, and was equally well adapted for combat on foot or on horseback. It was variously constructed according to the prevailing taste. The most approved were those brought from Asia by the crusaders, in the early part of the reign of Alexander III. They consisted of four rings joined to a fifth, and all rivetted;—they were sometimes double. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, this description seems to have been in general use, both in England and Scotland. They had the form of shirts, and were quite impervious to an arrow.

The "*goune*" which the *Minstrel* alludes to, as covering the "*habergione*," we conceive to mean the surcoat, or coat of arms,—a fashion introduced into Britain in the thirteenth century. It is thus described by Dr. Meyrick:—"The surcoat, which had been adopted by the crusaders in the thirteenth century, to prevent their armour from being heated by the sun's rays, a mode still continued by the Mamelukes in Egypt, was at first of merely variegated patterns, but soon became embellished with the same armorial bearings as the shield;—hence, the expression, 'coat of arms.' It was a long loose dress, without sleeves, open before and behind, for the convenience of riding, and girted round the waist by the *cingulum militare*, or belt. It was put on over the hauberk, and reached to the neck; and when the hood was placed on the head, it was covered by it as far as the shoulders. The front and back were emblazoned alike."

This piece of dress appears to have been the same as the tabard. It is thus taken notice of by Thomas Hearne: "*Tabard*, a jacket, jerket, mandilion, or sleeveless coat, worn in times past by noblemen in the wars; but now only by heralds, and is called their coat-of-arms in service." Verstegan tells us, in his *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, "That *tabert* was anciently a short gown, that reached no further than the mid-leg, that it remaineth for the name of a town in Germanie and in the Netherlands, and that in England it is now the name only of a *herald's coat*." But what Stowe tells us, in his *Survey of London*, is more remarkable, where, talking of several fair inns in Southwark, he takes occasion to speak of the *Tabard Inn* as the most ancient of them, and thereupon writes thus: "Amongst the which innes, the most ancient is the *Tabard*, so called of the signe, which, as wee now term it, is of a jacket, or sleevelesse coate, whole before, open on both sides, with a square

collar; winged at the shoulders : a stately garment, of old time commonly worn of noblemen and others, both at home and abroad in the wars ; but then (to wit, in the warres) their armes embroidered, or otherwise depict upon them, that every man by his coate of armes might bee knowne from others : but now these tabards are onely worn by the heralds, and bee called their coates-of-armes in service." Allusion is also made, by Wyntown, to the tabard of John Baliol, who, on being stripped of the ensigns of royalty by his *magnanimous* conqueror, the "*pelure*," or fur, was also torn from his tabard. The passage is curious :

" This Jhon the Balliol on purpos
He tuk, and brocht hym til Mwnros ;
And in the castell of that Town,
That than wes famous in renown,
This Jhon the Ballyol dyspooyld he
Of all hys Robys of Ryalte.
The Pelure thai tuk off hys Tabart,
(Twnie Tabart he wes callit eftywart.)"
Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 88.

The "*steyle capleyne*," it is very likely, may have been taken from the "*chapelle de fer*," or "iron hat," which, the same writer says, had a rim and convex crown, and was worn over the capuchon or hood. "After being placed on the head, it was kept from turning round, when struck, by cords, with which it was fastened to the shoulders. The effigy of Sir Roger de Trompington not only gives its form, but shows that it was sometimes held to the body by means of a chain. It was ornamented in front with a cross fleury, the transverse bar of which was pierced with ocularia, or openings for the sight." That worn by Wallace, however, does not appear to have had this advantage, for

" *His face he kepit, for it was euir bar,
With his twa handis.*"

The limbs were usually defended at this time, by being encased in boiled leather, on which kneepates of iron, and guards for the shin-bones, were fixed ; these, with a round or triangular shield, painted with the armorial bearings of the wearer, formed the defensive armour of the period.

Wallace's favourite weapon appears to have been a long and ponderous two-handed sword, which his prodigious strength enabled him to wield with the greatest ease*. The mace and spear were

* Respecting the armour and sword of Wallace, Doctor Jamieson has the following note. "In the Castle of Dunbarton, they pretend to show the mail, and, if I mistake not, also the sword of Wallace. If he was confined in that fortress by Monteith, before being sent into England, as some have supposed, it is not improbable that his armour might be left there. The popular belief on this head, however, is very strong; of which I recollect a singular proof, which took place many years ago, and of which I was an eyewitness. In the procession of King Crispin, at Glasgow, his Majesty was always preceded by one on horseback, appearing as his *champion*. In former times, this champion of the awl thought it enough to wear a leathern jerkin, formed like one of mail. One fellow, however, was appointed, of a more aspiring genius than his predecessors, who was determined to appear in real mail ; and who, having sent to Dunbarton Castle, and hired the use of Wallace's armour for a day, made his perambulations with it through the streets of Glasgow. I can never forget the ghastly appearance of this

also at times used by him ; and for close rencounters in castles, peels, and other confined situations, he was furnished with a dagger for each hand, of a particular kind, having guards, which extended above the wrist, between which the hand passed ; and grasping a transverse bar about an inch from the spring of the dagger, the weapon projected from the centre of the first, like the horn of an unicorn. This sort of dagger was often attached, by a kind of hinge, to the arm-plate, and could be folded back under the arm between the wrist and the elbow when not in use, and secured and concealed in that position by the cloth gloves, which our hero appears to have worn over his "glowis of plate *."

poor man, who was so chilled and overburdened by the armour, that, as the procession moved, he was under the necessity of frequently supporting himself with a cordial. It was said that he took to bed immediately after the termination of this procession, and never rose from it. From that time forward, his successors in office were content to wear the proper badge of their profession."—*Dr. Jamieson's Notes on Blind Harry.*

On this extract from the Doctor's invaluable work, the writer has to remark, that information derived from inquiry made on the subject, does not entirely confirm the correctness of all the statements that extract contains. That a man in *real armour* figured in the procession of King Crispin at Glasgow, about forty years ago, is a well-known fact ; but that the armour had belonged to Wallace, is any thing but certain. If so precious a deposit had been in the charge of the Governor of Dunbarton Castle, it is conceived he must have possessed more good nature than became his situation, if he lent it out to grace any such fooleries. Certain it is, if such armour was in Dunbarton Castle at the time, it is unknown to those connected with the garrison at present ; and we cannot conceive that a relic, so valuable in the estimation of the public, would have totally disappeared, without its being known what had become of it. The inquiries of the writer enable him to state, that the mail used on this occasion was lent to the followers of King Crispin by a gentleman belonging to Glasgow, of the name of Wilson. It was plate-armour and highly-polished. The sons of the awl, however, had a taste of their own in such matters, and took the liberty of painting it in oil, of a colour more to their fancy. But on being returned in this altered condition, it was thrown aside by the indignant proprietor. All that they pretend to show in the Castle of Dunbarton, as having belonged to Wallace, is a sword of a very antique fashion, intended to be used in both hands, but by no means of a weight that would prevent men of ordinary strength of the present day from wielding it. There is no proof, however, that it belonged to the Deliverer of Scotland ; and, if we may credit the account given by old people, of its having been dragged up from the bottom of the Clyde by the anchor of a vessel about sixty years ago, its identity becomes more than doubtful. Such, however, is the prevalence of the report in its favour, that it was some time since sent to London for the inspection of certain official characters connected with the Board of Ordnance. At the time it was sent off, it wanted several inches of its length, which, it seems, had been broke off by some accident. Whatever may have been the opinion of those to whom it was sent, respecting its connection with Wallace, we know not ; but as they were at the trouble of getting it repaired, in a manner that reflects credit on the talents of the artist, and returning it with a handsome scabbard, they have at least paid a compliment to the prejudice in its favour.

* A specimen of this formidable weapon the writer has seen in the Museum at Inverness.

Having said thus much of the dress and equipment of Wallace, the following anecdote respecting his strength and personal appearance, may not be unacceptable to the reader; it is translated from Hector Boëce by the learned editor of Morrison's edition of *Blind Harry*, who thus introduces it. "Though this author (Boëce) in general is not much to be credited, yet it would be hard not to believe him in an instance which happened near his own time, and in which, if he had spoken falsely, he could immediately have been detected. The anecdote in another respect is curious, as it affords an example of longevity, not unsimilar to that of the Irish Countess of Desmond, who attained a still more advanced age.

"The date is the year 1430. At that time, James I. was in Perth; and perhaps having heard *Henry the Minstrel** recite some of Wallace's exploits, found his curiosity excited to visit a noble lady of great age, who was able to inform him of many ancient matters. She lived in the castle of Kinnoul, on the opposite side of the river, and was probably a widow of one of the Lords of Erskine, a branch of whose family continued to be denominated from the barony of Kinnoul, till about the year 1440. It was Boëce's manner to relate an event as circumstantially as if he had been one of the parties, and engaged in it; I shall therefore give the anecdote in his own manner, by translating his words:

"In consequence of her extreme old age, she had lost her sight, but all her other senses were entire; and her body was yet firm and lively; she had seen William Wallace and Robert Bruce, and frequently told particulars concerning them. The King, who entertained a love and veneration of greatness, resolved to visit the old lady, that he might hear her describe the manners and strength of the two heroes, who were admired in his time, as they now are in ours. He therefore sent a message, acquainting her that he was to come to her next day. She received the message gratefully, and gave immediate orders to her handmaids to prepare every thing for his reception in the best manner, particularly that they should display her pieces of tapestry, some of which were uncommonly rich and beautiful. All her servants became busily employed, for their work was in some degree unusual, as she had not for a long time been accustomed to receive princely visitors. The next day, when told the King was approaching, she went down into the hall of her castle, dressed with as much elegance and finery as her old age and the fashion of the time would permit; attended by a train of matrons, many of whom were her own descendants, of which number some appeared more altered and disfigured by age than she herself was. One of her matrons having informed her that the king was entering the hall, she arose from her seat, and advanced to meet him so easily and gracefully,

* According to Pinkerton and other authorities, Henry did not finish his work till 1470. It is therefore more probable that the curiosity of James was excited by the original narrative of Blair; a book which, from his long captivity in England, he had perhaps heard little about, till his return to Scotland. The rehearsal, therefore, of the heroic achievements of his illustrious countryman, may have produced all the excitement which the Editor of the Perth edition supposes, though not made by the *Minstrel*.

that he doubted of her being wholly blind. At his desire she embraced and kissed him. Her attendant assured him that she was wholly blind; but that, from long custom, she had acquired these easy movements. He took her by the hand and sat down, desiring her to sit on the same seat next to him. And then, in a long conference, he interrogated her respecting ancient matters. He was much delighted with her conversation. Among other things, he asked her to tell him what sort of a man William Wallace was? what was his personal figure? what his courage? and with what degree of strength he was endowed? He put the same questions to her concerning Bruce. Robert, she said, was a man beautiful, and of a fine appearance. His strength was so great, that he could easily have overcome any mortal man of his time; but in so far as he excelled other men, he was excelled by Wallace, both in stature and in bodily strength; for, in wrestling, Wallace could have overcome two such men as Robert was.

"The King made some inquiries concerning his own immediate parents, and his other ancestors; and having heard her relate many things, returned to Perth, well pleased with the visit he had made." (*Boëth. Hist.* i. xvii.)

CHAPTER VI.

PEEL OF GARGUNNOCK TAKEN BY THE SCOTS—THE BRADFUTES OF LAMINGTON OPPRESSED BY THE ENGLISH—THE ORPHAN OF LAMINGTON—SIR RAYNOLD CRAWFORD SUMMONED TO GLASGOW—WALLACE CAPTURES THE BAGGAGE OF PERCY—RETIRES TO LENNOX—VARIOUS ENCOUNTERS WITH THE ENGLISH.

THE Scottish insurgents, being now abundantly supplied with all the munitions of war, and animated by their success to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, became impatient to prosecute hostilities against their oppressors; and their leader, who was not of a character to allow the swords of brave men to rust in their scabbards, soon found them an opportunity to gratify their wishes.

At Gargunock, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, the English had erected a small fortification or *peel*, which they had plentifully furnished with provisions. Some of the Scots in that quarter, who secretly adhered to Wallace, observed the carelessness which at times prevailed in setting the watch, and that the drawbridge was occasionally left down all night, for the purpose of admitting, in the morning, the labourers who were still employed about it,—conveyed the intelligence to their chief, who resolved to make himself master of the place the following night. Accordingly, two spies were despatched to ascertain the probability of success. Towards evening a column of smoke was seen rising from a neighbouring hill: it was the signal agreed upon, if the party were to advance. Wallace instantly set his men in motion, and about midnight arrived in front of the place which was the object of attack. As they expected, the drawbridge was down, but they found the door strongly secured within. Impatient at the delay this occasioned, our hero raised a heavy piece of timber, and, rushing with it against the door, the fastenings

gave way with a violence that loosened the stones, not yet properly cemented, and nearly a yard of the wall came tumbling to the ground. The porter, awakened by the noise, attempted to strike him with a ponderous mace. Wallace avoided the blow; and, before he could recover his unwieldy weapon, laid him lifeless at his feet. Thornton, the captain of the garrison, now appeared, with the men under his command; but the Scots had got too firm footing within the fort, to be easily expelled. After a sanguinary conflict, in which the captain fell by the hand of Wallace, the garrison were put to the sword, with the exception of the women and children, who received from the victors as much courtesy as the rudeness of the age entitled them to expect. The wife and three children of Thornton, after being supplied with what necessities they required, were allowed to depart along with the other females, and furnished with a pass from Wallace, by which they could proceed in safety to any of the towns in the possession of the English. The Scots found in the peel of Gargunnoch * abundance of all kinds of necessities, with a large sum of money, which Wallace divided equally among his followers; and, after distributing what part of the stores they did not require among his oppressed countrymen in the neighbourhood, he demolished the fortification, and proceeded with his companions on their crusade against the enemies of their independence.

Though Wallace was thus actively engaged in harassing the enemies of the country, the calamities and acts of oppression with which particular families or individuals were visited, neither escaped his attention, nor failed to call forth that interference which their circumstances demanded; and, amid the many cases of private suffering which came under his notice, none appeared to affect him more deeply than the desolation which had overtaken a respectable and ancient family in the neighbourhood of Lanark. Hew de Bradfute, a zealous advocate for the liberties of Scotland, possessed the lands of Lamington, and left them at his death to his son, who had imbibed, with all the ardour of youth, that love of liberty so fondly cherished by his father. For some display of these patriotic feelings, he had incurred the displeasure of Hasilrig, or Hasliopie, the English governor of Lanark, who found a pretext for attacking him in his castle, and put him, along with a number of his friends, to the sword. The house and lands of Lamington now became the right of a surviving sister. The youth and beauty of this young gentlewoman attracted the notice of the murderer of her friends; and, under the pretence of a regard for her safety, obliged her to take up her residence in Lanark. For this *protection*, considerable sums were, from time to time, levied upon her property. The cupidity of Hasilrig, not satisfied with these exactions, intended her as a match either for him-

self or his son; and the helpless girl had no means of averting this hateful connection, but by pleading for delay, till her grief for her slaughtered kindred had abated. Every indulgence of this kind was accompanied by a fresh exaction on her property, till the victim of his avarice became an object of commiseration even to those who were themselves suffering under the hand of the oppressor. Henry draws a most fascinating picture of this lovely orphan; and we have no reason to doubt the assemblage of virtues and graces in which he has arrayed her person and character, particularly as he is borne out in what he says by the Prior of St. Serf's, and other respectable authorities.

While attending her religious duties at a church near Lanark, Wallace first saw this interesting female. The beauty of her person, the grace and propriety of her demeanour, added to her forlorn situation, excited the tenderest sensations in the bosom of our hero. A circumstance, however, which occurred about this juncture, served to divide his attention with the fair object of his solicitude.

For the purpose of levying fresh assessments on certain districts of the country, an extraordinary council of the English authorities was appointed to meet with the Bishop of Durham at Glasgow, which see had been now occupied by this ambitious ecclesiastic. Sir Raynald Crawford, the uncle of our hero, though long since deprived of his commission, was summoned to attend as sheriff of Ayr in right of his birth. Whether this was an indirect attempt to conciliate Wallace, or if it was merely done on the supposition that the Scots would submit to their imposts with more patience if some of their countrymen appeared as the assessors, cannot now be distinctly ascertained. The sheriff, however, prepared to obey the mandate; while his nephew, always suspicious of the intentions of the English, resolved, along with two of his followers, to watch over the safety of his relative, and observe the motions of the enemy. In those times the accommodations for travellers were far from complete. With the exception of convents, such houses of entertainment as might be found on the roads, afforded them little more than shelter from the inclemency of the weather; and travellers who came to spend the night, were expected to bring their food and other necessities along with them, particularly those who journeyed with retinues. Under such circumstances, Sir Raynald's party were provided with a sumpter-horse to carry their provisions.

They had not proceeded far, before they came up with the servants of Percy, conducting his baggage. One of their horses having met with an accident, they stopped the sheriff's party, and insisted on having their sumpter-horse, in order to supply the place of the one that had become disabled. It was in vain to remonstrate with those who had the power, and were determined to do an act of injustice. Wallace, from a distance, saw the load rudely thrown from the back of the horse, and the animal carried off. The sheriff, in consequence, had to remain at Mearns for the night.

The convoy that protected the baggage of Percy consisted of five of his personal retainers, and had reached the vicinity of the little township of Cathcart, when they heard the noise of our hero's steed behind them, followed by his companions; but as

* A little south of the village, there is a conical height called Kin-hill, which is evidently artificial, and seems to have been a military work. There are the remains of a ditch or rampart of a circular form, which proves that it is not of Roman origin. It is probably of later date, and appears to have been the place from which Sir William Wallace sallied forth on the night when he took by surprise the *Peel of Gargunnoch*.—*Stat. Acc.* xviii. 116, 117.

there appeared to be only three to five, the English determined to stand on their defence. The contest, however, was soon decided; and the English, from the loopholes of the neighbouring castle of Cathcart, saw their countrymen slaughtered, and the baggage under their protection rifled or carried off, without venturing to quit their stronghold. Money and other valuables, to a considerable amount, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost no time in making their way towards Glasgow, in order to cross the Clyde at that place, and thus effect their retreat into the Lennox before Percy could be apprised of his loss.

Having effected their object, they sheltered themselves for the night in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, and on the morrow proceeded towards the wilds of the Lomond. Here Wallace was joyfully received by Malcolm Earl of Lennox, who, with a number of his trusty tenantry, maintained, amid the fastnesses of that romantic district, a protracted, and sometimes a successful struggle, for their independence. This nobleman offered to place his followers under the command of Sir William, provided he would remain among them for the defence of the Lennox. His mind, however, was too deeply impressed with a desire for the general good of his country, to allow him to think of confining his exertions within the limits proposed. On explaining his plan of warfare to this worthy chieftain, he found no difficulty in gaining him over to his views, and inducing him to co-operate in extending the spirit of insurrection, as well as to create a more powerful diversion in favour of those who were already embarked in the cause. With this understanding, Wallace took his departure, accompanied by a number of his companions, who had resorted to him on discovering the place of his retreat.

The mortification of Percy, on receiving the accounts of the capture of his baggage, was considerably increased by the subsequent proceedings of Wallace and his partisans. An express had just reached Glasgow, announcing the fate of the garrison of Gargunock when another made his appearance, giving an account of the slaughter of a party of English in the neighbourhood of Doune. Sir Raynald Crawford, who had been put under an arrest on suspicion of being concerned in the affair at Cathcart, was now ordered before the council, and, though he had been able to establish an *alibi* with regard to the offence charged against him, yet, after being strictly interrogated as to his knowledge of his nephew's places of concealment, he was forced to take an oath against affording him shelter, or holding any correspondence with him, directly or indirectly, so long as he remained under the ban of outlawry; he was also sworn to afford the English all the information in his power, in order that means might be taken for bringing him to punishment.

While Percy and his coadjutor were thus employed at Glasgow, Wallace and his followers were concerting measures, in the depths of Methven Wood, for an attack on a body of English troops which were to leave St. Johnstone on the day following; in order to proceed to Kinclaven Castle, headed by an old veteran knight named Butler, who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the Scots by the cruelties which he had inflicted upon them. Intelligence of this intended move-

ment was communicated to Wallace, who, having disguised himself in the dress of a borderer, got introduced into St. Johnstone under the name of William Malcolmson. The mayor, before whom he had to appear, was so well pleased with his humorous conversation, and the account which he gave of himself, that he allowed him to go in search of the employment he pretended to have come in quest of. By this means he had all the facilities he could desire for becoming acquainted with the strength and condition of the garrison. Having ascertained the intended removal of the troops alluded to, he hastened back to his retreat in the woods, where, sounding his horn, he rallied his associates around him, and found them all willing to engage in the enterprise.

Sir James Butler, who was esteemed one of the bravest old warriors among the English, had on this occasion about a hundred choice soldiers under his command. With this force he was quietly proceeding, amid the thick haze of the morning, to reinforce the garrison of Kinclaven, when, from behind a rock that projected over the road, he was suddenly assailed by the Scots. The confusion occasion by their unexpected attack, disconcerted the English commander, and before he could recover his troops from their consternation, a fresh charge threw them into complete disorder. The strength and valour of the undaunted champion of the Scots rendered the advantage which their enemies possessed, in point of numbers, of little avail. It must, however, be allowed, that the disparity in this instance was not so great as in some previous rencounters: Wallace, according to some accounts, having near sixty hardy warriors under his command, most part of whom had distinguished themselves on former occasions. Kerlé or Kerle, to whom he had presented the *mace* or staff of steel, taken from the porter at the Peel of Gargunock, displayed on this occasion the most determined bravery; his formidable weapon being wielded with a dexterity which admirably seconded the efforts of our hero. Sixteen of the English had fallen beneath the swords of the Scots; but when Wallace came in contact with Sir James Butler, the conflict was of short duration. The old veteran was no match for the young patriot; and on seeing their chief fall beneath the arm of his adversary, the rout of the English became general. The disordered rabble fled in terror towards Kinclaven, from the battlements of which their discomfiture had been observed; and those within hastened to let down the drawbridge to receive and shelter their flying countrymen. Onwards came the confused mass of friends and foes,—the shouts of the victors mingled with the cries of the vanquished, and thundering over the drawbridge, the pursued and their pursuers entered the castle together. The few soldiers that were in the place could render them but little assistance in making head against their enemies; and the whole, with the exception of two priests, and some women and children, were indiscriminately put to the sword.

Having cleared the place of the dead bodies of the English, and taken precautions against a surprise during the time they might remain, they proceeded to search the castle, in which was found a rich booty in money, besides a plentiful stock of provisions and other stores. A part of this valuable pillage they conveyed by night to Shortwood

Forest, where they prepared pits* and other places for its concealment, there to remain as a resource against future emergencies.

The nonjurors under Wallace were not as yet sufficiently numerous to enable him to put garrisons in those fortresses which fell into his hands. It was therefore wisely determined to demolish every place of strength that was likely to afford their enemies a footing in the country. Hardy themselves, and inured to the inclemency of the weather, they cared little for those comforts which were indispensable to their more luxurious neighbours. In summer, the forest spread its leafy canopy over their slumbers; and, in winter, their robust and sinewy frames felt little inconvenience, though exposed, in their dens and caverns, to all the rigour of the merciless elements. Such men heard with indifference, and executed with alacrity, the command which their leader gave for the destruction of Kinclaven

* The concealing of money and other valuables in the earth, appears to have been a very common practice in Scotland, during the calamitous periods of her history; and many an instance has been recorded of little depôts coming to light; which it is very probable were composed of the hard-earned plunder of the military adventurer, whose ambition, avarice, or duty, called him off to other fields, where he and his secret perished together.

From the many notices we have seen of the discovery of hidden treasures, we shall select the following, as alluding more particularly to the period embraced in our narrative. We cannot, however, agree with the learned Editor in the opinion, that the coins in question were hidden by the soldiers of Edward; they held the country by too precarious a tenure to make such deposits. It is more likely to have been the share of booty belonging to some patriot Scot, who had afterwards fallen in the cause of his country's independence. "There was lately found, on the farm of Mr. Rankine, of Whitehall, parish of New Cumnock, Ayrshire, by a person employed in turning up the ground with a spade, about two feet from the surface, a small vase, of antique form, similar to those in the Englefield Collection, and of very coarse materials, containing about a hundred silver pennies of Alexander III. of Scotland, and Edward I. of England, in good preservation, having the head and characters distinctly legible. The English coins were more numerous than the Scotch. Those of Alexander represent him in profile, as do all the coins of his reign, and have round the head, *Alexander Dei Gra.*; and on the other side, *Rex Scotorum*, with a cross extending to the edge, and a spur level in each of the quarters. This coin is No. 33, first page of plates appended to Adam de Cardonnel's *Numismata Scotica*. Those of Edward represent him in full face, with *Edw. Ang.; Dus Hyb.*; and on the reverse of the different coins, *Civitas Cantor, Civitas London, Civitas Lincoln*, and almost all the mint-towns of England, with the cross extending to the edge, and three roses in each quarter. From the great number of these coins found in this part of the country, it is probable they were deposited in the earth by the soldiers of Edward, who had taken refuge in these mountainous regions, when flying from the well-merited indignation of the Scotch. They must have been placed in the ground some time about the beginning of the fourteenth century. Bruce having obtained the crown in the year 1306, and relating, as they do, to a most interesting period of our history, and which is embalmed in the memory of every Scotsman, they are worthy of occupying a place in the cabinets of the curious. A few of them have been sent to the Museum of Edinburgh College."—*Scotsman*.

Within these few years also, a depôt was discovered at Ascog, in the island of Bute, in which four thousand silver pennies of Edward I. were found, most of them of the London mintage.

Castle. After securing that part of the iron work which might be useful in their sylvan retreats, the remaining furniture and lumber were formed into piles; and, at the dead hour of night, the conflagration rose in volumes to the sky. From the lateness of the hour, and the secluded situation of the castle, its fate remained unknown until the morning, when the smoke, which continued to ascend from the ruins, led the country people to the knowledge of the desolating vengeance which had overtaken their oppressors. The females, who had been allowed to depart before the work of destruction commenced, carried to St. Johnstone the melancholy account of their disaster.

The grief and indignation which were felt among the English at St. Johnstone, on hearing the doleful recital of the slaughter of their countrymen, induced Sir Gerald Heron,* the governor, to allow Sir John Butler, son of the forementioned Sir James, to follow the Scots with all the force of the garrison, to revenge the death of his father. In this undertaking he was joined by Sir William de Lorayne, an officer of reputation, and a great favourite with the soldiery.

Although the force under these leaders amounted to nearly a thousand men, from the admirable management of the Scottish chief, they were kept in a great measure ignorant of their own vast superiority. In the forest of Shortwood, a part of which they endeavoured to invest, their provident enemy had erected a number of rustic fortifications, in the form of squares, communicating with each other, the walls of which were made, by affixing two rows of planks to the trees, and filling up the space between with thorns. Each of these squares had a small opening towards the enemy, and another at the opposite side, for the purpose of retreat; while the advance towards them was intersected by defences, formed in a similar manner, in order to break, and otherwise prevent the approach of too great a body of the enemy. By this means, when the Scots found themselves obliged to retire for shelter to these intrenchments, they could only be pursued in broken and straggling detachments. These defences were not fully completed when the English came in sight; and Wallace, therefore, in order to gain time, appeared at a distant and almost detached part of the wood with a few of his followers, leaving the rest under the command of Stephen of Ireland, to complete the works. On the approach of the English, an arrow from the powerful and unerring hand of our hero, brought down one of their advanced-guard. This had the effect of attracting their attention towards that part of the wood where he had stationed his little party, who also sent their arrows

* "This appears to have been the head of the ancient family of Heron, who held Ford Castle in Northumberland. In the reign of Henry III. it was in possession of Sir William Heron, who was Governor of the Castles of Bam-borough, Pickering, and Scarborough, Lord Warden of the Forests north of Trent, and sheriff of Northumberland for eleven successive years."—Vide *Hutchinson's Northumberland*, ii. 19. "This Castle has attracted much attention, as having been the scene of the enchantments of its fair mistress, by means of which our infatuated James IV. was disarmed before the battle of Flodden; and it has acquired additional celebrity, from the no less bewitching muse of the Author of *Marmion*."—*Dr. Jamieson's Notes on Blind Harry*.

among the English, though not with such good effect as their chief, who continued to bring down his man as they advanced. The enemy, having observed the opening at which Wallace made his appearance to discharge his deadly shafts, sent forward one of the most expert of their Lancashire bowmen to lie in wait for him, while the rest directed their missiles at random toward those parts where they conceived his men to be stationed. It was not long before the eagerness of Wallace betrayed him to the practised hand of his watchful adversary, whose well-directed shaft, after grazing the collar of steel which he usually wore, stuck fast in the fleshy part of his neck. His keen eye, however, soon discovered his lurking foe; and, hurrying towards him, intercepted his retreat, and slew him in front of his companions, who were so struck with the boldness of the deed, that not one of them attempted to oppose his return to his associates. Although the Scots were generally thought inferior to the English in the use of the bow*, on the present occasion, having the covering

* It would be rather difficult to assign sufficient reasons for the inferiority of the Scottish archers to those of England; and perhaps it may be one of those popular errors, which, being once promulgated, has passed unquestioned. The ridicule which James I. has thrown upon a certain portion of his countrymen, in his poem of *Chryst's Kirk on the Green*, has no doubt tended to confirm, or perhaps to give rise to the opinion. The advice which Robert Bruce gave his countrymen, always to attack and disperse the English archers, as early in the engagement as possible, is likewise quoted as an instance of the dread which the Scots entertained for this description of their enemies' force. But this advice most probably was suggested, more from the vast multitudes of bowmen which the English had it in their power to bring into the field, than from any peculiar or individual advantage they possessed at their weapon. The archers whom Bruce attacked and dispersed at the battle of Bannockburn were chiefly Welsh;—when individual trials of skill occurred, any inferiority on the part of the Scots was never very conspicuous; and there appears no reason it should have been so. The attention they bestowed on the art was at least equal to that of their neighbours. This is evident, from the numerous *wapenschaus* established all over the country. In the works of *Lindsay of Pittscottie*, we have the following account of a "*waigeour of archerie*," between the Queen Dowager of Scotland and her son James V.:—"In this yeir cam an Inglish ambassadour out of Ingland, callit Lord Williame, ane bischope, and vther gentlemen, to the number of thrie scoir horsis, quhilkis war all able, walled gentlemen, for all kynd of pastime, as schotting, louping, wrestling, runing, and casting of the stone. Bot they war weil assayed in all these or they went home; and that be thair awin provocatioun, and almost evir tint, quhill at the last the kingis mother favoured the Inglis men, becaus shoe was the king of Inglandis sister: and thairfoir shoe tuk ane waigeour of archerie vpon the Inglishmanis handis. contrair the King hir sone, and any half duzoun Scottis men, either noblemen, gentlemen, or yeamanes, that so many Inglish men sould schott againes them at riveris, buttis, or prick bonnett. The King, heiring of this bonspell of his mother, was weil content. So thair was laid an hundredth crounes and ane tun of wyne pandit on everie syd. The ground was chosin in St. Androis; the Scottis archeris was thrie landit gentlemen and thrie yeamanes, to witt, David Weimes of that ilk, David Arnott of that ilk, and Mr. Johne Wedderburne, vicar of Dundie. The yeamanes was Johne Thomsons in Leith, Stevin Tabroner, and Alexander Baillie, who was ane pyper, and schott vondrous neir, and wan the valgour from the Inglis men; and thairefter went in to the toun and maid ane banquet to the king and the queine, and the Inglish ambassadour, with the wholl tuo

of the wood to shelter them from the superior number and direct view of their adversaries, they managed, by shifting their ground as their enemies advanced, to keep up a kind of bush-fight till after noon; during which time fifteen of the English had been slain by the hand of Wallace, besides a considerable number by his companions. Their arrows being all expended, and having arrived at a part of the forest, where a high cliff prevented their further retreat, Sir William de Lorayne advanced upon them with nearly three hundred men, while Sir Gerald Heron and young Butler remained without the forest, in order to prevent the escape of any of the fugitives. Wallace had just time to make a short animating address to his companions; and placing them so as to have the advantage of the cliff as a protection to their rear, they stood prepared for the onslaught. The English were astonished to find themselves opposed to so small a number of Scots as now appeared waiting their attack, and conceived they would have little else to do than to surround the party and take them prisoners. The determined valour, however, with which they received and repulsed their repeated charges, convinced them that the toils of the day were not yet over. Wallace, who was always a tower of strength to his friends in the hour of danger, displayed, on this occasion, more than his usual heroism. While the strength which nerved his resistless arm excited the greatest enthusiasm among his followers, and spread horror and dismay through the ranks of their enemies, Sir William de Lorayne still urged his men on to the conflict, and they as quickly receded, when they found themselves opposed to that champion of whose strength and exploits they had heard so many appalling accounts. The battle, however, still continued to rage with unabated fury on both sides;—the English, eager to revenge the slaughter of their countrymen, and the Scots, frantic with the wrongs they had already sustained, determined to conquer or die on the spot. At this time their dauntless chief burst like a thunderbolt amidst the thickest of the English; and, having scattered them before him, ascended a little hillock behind which they had retreated, and applying his bugle-horn to his mouth, made the woodlands resound with a bold and animating war-note. The English

hundredth crounes, and the tuo tunes of wyne. Albeit that the Inglis men confessed that the Scottis men sould have been fried of the payment of that banquet, quhill was so gorgeous that it was of no les awail than the said gold and wyne extended to."—*Chronicles of Scotland, by Lindsay of Pittscottie*, vol. ii. p. 347, 348. It may also be observed, that the value which the Scots set upon the quality of the feathers used for their arrows, bespeaks a considerable proficiency in the art. Those of the Earn appear, from the following extract, to have been in the greatest request. "In the west and north-west of Scotland, there is a great repaying of the Erne, of a marvellous nature: the people are very curious to catch him, and punze his wings, that hee fly not. Hee is of a hudge quantity, and a ravenous kind as the hawks, and the same qualitie. They doe give him such sort of meat, in great quantity at once, that hee lives contented therewith 14, 16, or 20 dayes, and some of them a moneth. Their feathers are good for garnishing of arrows, for they receive no raine nor water, but remaine alwayes of a durable estate, and uncorruptible. The people doe use them either when they be a hunting, or at warres."—*A Memoriall of the most Rare and Wonderful Things in Scotland*.

leader, conceiving that this was done in derision, rallied his forces, and again advanced to the attack. Wallace and his few hardy veterans were soon environed by their enraged assailants, and the battle commenced anew with all the rancour of their former animosities. Though the Scots fought with the most inflexible obstinacy, yet some of them, from the severity of their wounds, appeared unable to continue much longer the unequal contest; but at this critical juncture, Stephen of Ireland, and his party, in obedience to the signal sounded by their chief, suddenly emerged from the brush-wood, and fell upon the rear of the enemy with determined ferocity. Surprised and dismayed at so unexpected an attack, the English fled in the greatest confusion, followed by the victors, who continued the pursuit, making dreadful carnage among them, till they reached the boundary of the forest. Here the terrified fugitives were met by Sir John Butler, at the head of five hundred men. This accession of force obliged the Scots, in their turn, to retreat to their defences—the first of which was carried by the enemy, but at the expense of a considerable number of the bravest of their warriors. The English had now the mortification to find that their opponents had only retired to a second enclosure, from which Wallace, supported by Cleland, Boyd, and a few of the most resolute of his companions, made a sortie, in which, after killing a considerable number, Wallace came in contact with the knight of Lorayne, and at one blow clove him to the chin. His terrified followers shrunk aghast from the ponderous weapon of their gigantic adversary; but urged on by Butler, to revenge the death of their leader, they again crowded round the little band of heroes. Again they were dispersed; and Butler, who had been foremost in the attack, came within reach of the sword of the Scottish champion, which descended with a force that would have cut him to the ground, had not the intervening branch of a tree saved him from the blow, and his men, rushing forward to his assistance, carried him off before it could be repeated. According to some accounts, Butler is said to have been first wounded, and that Sir William de Lorayne was slain in attempting to rescue him from his perilous situation. Whatever may have been the case, the English were so discouraged by the loss of one leader, and the disabling of the other, that they hastily fell back upon the troops left at the entrance of the forest under Sir Gerald Heron. Here a council of war was held, wherein it was proposed to make a simultaneous attack on the defences of the Scots. During the discussion, however, which ensued on the manner of carrying the proposal into effect, Wallace and his companions escaped by the opposite side of the forest, and retreated to Cargyle wood, a situation which afforded them more natural advantages in securing themselves from their numerous assailants.

The English, on the retreat of the Scots, now commenced a strict search after the booty taken from Kinleven Castle. Nothing, however, could be discovered, save the favourite steed of old Butler, which had been left behind in one of the enclosures. On this his wounded son was placed, and the whole cavalcade returned fatigued and dispirited to St. Johnstone, leaving one hundred and twenty of their companions dead behind them.

Of the Scots, seven were killed, and the rest more or less injured.

From an elevated situation, Wallace had observed the English as they retired to St. Johnstone; and, though still smarting from the wounds he had received, returned at midnight to the scene of action with a number of his companions and dug up the most valuable part of the concealed plunder, which they conveyed to their new retreat, along with whatever arms or other booty the light of the moon enabled them to strip from the dead bodies that lay scattered around them.

A few days after the above encounter, Wallace is said to have returned to St. Johnstone in the disguise of a priest; and a story is told of his having been betrayed by a female, with whom he had become acquainted during his former visit to that place. Repenting, however, of the information she had given his enemies, she disclosed the danger that awaited him just in time to effect his escape. His foes, enraged at the disappointment, again set off in pursuit of him, taking along with them a slough-hound* to assist them in discovering his retreats. A sanguinary battle was again fought, in which Wallace lost nine of his remaining followers, and the English leader about one hundred.

In this retreat of the Scots, their chief is also said to have slain one of his followers, named Fawdon, an Irishman, whom he suspected of trea-

* "So late as the reign of James I. of England, there is an order dated A. D. 1616, that no less than nine blood-hounds should be kept on the Border, upon Esk and other places mentioned."—*Pennant's Tour*, 1772. i. 77. ii. 397.

John Harding has given a curious account of the means used by Edward I. for taking Bruce, similar to that here said to have been employed against Wallace.

"The king Edward with hornes and houndes him soght,
With menne on fote, through marris, mosse & myre,
Through wodes also & mountens, (wher they fought),
And euer the kyng Edward hight men greate hyre,
Hym for to take by might conquer;
But thei might hym not gette, by force ne by traine,
He satte by the fyre when thei (went) in the rain."

The following description of these dogs is from an old writer, well acquainted with their character. "In Scotland are dogs of marvellous condition, above the nature of other dogs. The first is a hound of great swiftnesse, hardnes, and strength, fierce and cruell upon all wilde beasts, and eger against thieves that offer their masters any violence. The second is a rach, or hound, verie exquisite in following the foote, (which is called drawing), whether it be of man or beast; yea, he will pursue any maner of fowle, and find out whatsoever fish haunting the land, or lurking amongst the rocks, especially the otter, by that excellent sent of smelling wherewith he is indued. The third sort is no greater than the aforesaid raches, in colour for the most part red, with blacke spots, or else black and full of red markes. These are so skillfull, (being used by practise), that they will pursue a thiefe, or thiefe-stolne goods, in the most precise maner, and finding the trespasser, with great audacity they will make a race upon him, or if he take the water for his safeguard, he shrinketh not to follow him; and entering and issuing at the same places where the party went in and out, hee never ceaseth to range till he hath noysed his footing, and bee come to the place wherein the thiefe is shrowded or hid. These dogs are called Sleuth-hounds. There was a law amongst the borderers of England and Scotland, that whosoever denied entrance to such a hound, in pursute made after felons and stolne goods, should be holden as accessory unto the theft, or taken for the selfe same thiefe."—*Account of the Red Deer and Wild Beasts in Scotland.*

chery. Of this man, Blind Harry gives the following unprepossessing description :—

“ To Wallace thar come ane that hecht Fawdoun ;
Melancoly he was of complexioun,
Hewy of statur, dour in his countenance,
Soroufull, sadde, ay dreidfull but plesance.”

The circumstances of his death, are thus narrated by the same author, who justifies the deed on the plea of necessity :—

“ To the next woode twa myll thai had to gang,
Off vpwith erde ; thai yeid with all thair mycht ;
Gud hope thai had for it was ner the nycht,
Fawdoun tyrt, and said, he mycht nocht gang.
Wallace was wa to leyff him in that thrang.
He bade him ga, and said the strenth was ner ;
But he tharfor wald nocht fastir him ster.
Wallace in ire on the crag cam him ta
With his gud suerd, and strak the hed him fra.
Dreidless to ground derfy he duschit dede,
Fra him he lap, and left him in that stede.
Sum demys it to ill, and othyr sum to gud ;
And I say her, into thir termys rude,
Bettir it was he did, as thinkis me.
Fyrst, to the hunde it mycht gret stoppyn be.
Als Fawdoun was haldyn at [gret] suspicioun ;
For he was haldyn of brokill complexioun.
Rycht stark he was, and had bot litill gayne,
Thus Wallace wist : had he beyne left allayne.
And he war fals, to enemys he wald ga ;
Gyff he war trew, the Sothroun wald him sla.
Mycht he do ocht bot tyne him as it was ?”

On the first view of the case, there appears a degree of barbarity in the conduct of Wallace, which is quite at variance with that affection and tenderness which he had uniformly displayed towards his adherents ; and we cannot help condemning the sternness of that policy which could thus deprive a follower of his life, because worn out with toil, and disabled by wounds, he could no longer keep up with his companions. But, on reflection, we find the lives of Wallace, and of the few that remained of the party, placed in jeopardy by one, who, from his reluctance to make a little farther exertion, when assured that a place of safety was at hand, gave good grounds to suspect that he had become unsound at the core. We may also remark, that being acquainted with the spot where the plunder taken from the English was concealed, Wallace had an additional reason to suspect Fawdoun's motives for wishing to be left behind ; and it may be urged in support of the justice of this suspicion, that his countryman Stephen, who introduced him to the little band of patriots, remained the firm and confidential friend of Wallace through all his difficulties. This he certainly would not have done, had Wallace, on *slight* grounds, inflicted death on one who was not only his friend and countryman, but in some degree under his protection. So far, indeed, was Stephen from feeling dissatisfaction at the conduct of Wallace, that he and Kerle lingered behind, and, favoured by the shades of night, which had now set in, mingled with the enemy ; and while their general, Sir Gerald Heron, was in the act of stooping to examine the body of Fawdoun, whose blood had arrested the progress of the slough-hound, Kerle watched the opportunity and gave him a mortal stab in the throat with his dagger. The cry of

“ Treason !” arose among the English ; but, in the confusion, the two confederates slipped down unobserved among the underwood that surrounded them, and made the best of their way towards Loch Earne, the well-wooded banks of which afforded them every chance of security. In the interval, Wallace, and thirteen of his followers, all that were now left him, made good their retreat to the deserted Castle of Gask situated in the middle of a wood. This place possessed few advantages that could recommend it as a desirable retreat ; but, to men in their desperate situation, the prospect of shelter from the swords of their pursuers was a considerable relief, and though it appeared in a sad state of dilapidation, a number of the apartments were entire ; and the courtyard was surrounded by a wall of great thickness, which, broken as it might be in some parts, would nevertheless enable them to make a tolerable defence. With this expectation, therefore, they determined to secure themselves for the night, and trust to their good swords for a path through their enemies in the morning.

CHAPTER VII.

SINGULAR ADVENTURE OF WALLACE IN GASK CASTLE—
KILLS THE ENGLISH LEADER—ESCAPES TO TOR-
WOOD—INTERVIEW WITH HIS UNCLE.

AFTER the confusion produced by the death of the English leader had subsided, a party of forty men were despatched with the dead body to Johnstone ; and Butler, who had so far recovered from his wound as to be able to take the field under Sir Gerald, remained, with about 500 men, to look after the fugitives. With this force he proceeded to secure all the neighbouring passes, and to take such other methods as he thought would prevent their escape.

In the mean time, Wallace and his few remaining friends had put their place of refuge in as good a state of defence as its ruinous condition would admit ; and having procured a sheep from a neighbouring fold, they kindled a fire in the court-yard, and prepared for their evening repast. Wallace now wisely considered, from the fatigue his followers had undergone during the day, that however much they might stand in want of refreshment, a few hours' repose would be absolutely necessary for recruiting their wearied and exhausted spirits, and rendering them fit for the arduous enterprise that awaited them in the morning. As soon, therefore, as they had allayed their hunger, he ordered them to betake themselves to rest, while he undertook to keep watch by himself.

Surrounded by his sleeping companions, with no light but what the expiring embers afforded, the mind of Wallace became overshadowed with melancholy forebodings. Though in the late conflicts he had destroyed a great number of the enemy, his own little band had been almost annihilated ; and, in his present situation, he saw little probability of filling up their places with men on whom he could put the same dependence. Two of his most devoted partisans, Stephen and Kerle, had disappeared ; and he had every reason to suppose they were

either slain, or fallen into the hands of the enemy. The apathy with which the most powerful of the nobility continued to witness the exertions of himself and his followers for the independence of their country, filled him with grief and indignation; while, from the loss of so many brave friends in the late encounter, he was apprehensive his few remaining companions would now consider their undertaking as desperate. These reflections, aided by the consideration that he was actually surrounded by a force against which his expectations of success could not be very sanguine, tended to excite the most gloomy apprehensions.

From this state of mind he was suddenly aroused by the blowing of horns*, mingled with frightful yells, which seemed to proceed from a rising ground in the neighbourhood. Two of his party were despatched to ascertain the cause of the uproar; but these not returning, and the alarm still increasing, other scouts were sent out, till Wallace was at last left alone, without any one to assist in the defence of the place, if it should happen to be attacked.

It was now past midnight; and the flame that still lingered about the remains of the almost extinguished faggots, continued, at intervals, to throw its pale and flickering light on the ruinous walls of the castle, when Wallace was suddenly startled by the shadow of a human figure. Though broken and indistinct at first, yet the moon, which was slowly emerging from behind a cloud, rendered it every moment more apparent. From the feet to the shoulders, which was all of it that was visible, it seemed to be of uncommon dimensions; and what more particularly rivetted the attention of the forlorn chief, a human head hung dangling from its hand, in a manner that gave it the appearance of something supernatural. While gazing with intense anxiety on this singular object, its hand was slowly raised, and the head, which it held, after striking the helmet of Wallace, fell with considerable violence among the dying embers before him. Snatching it up, he discovered, by the light of the moon, the pale and ghastly features of the "ill-fated Fawdon?"; and, turning towards the place from whence it was thrown, he observed the figure of a man endeavouring to descend by a broken part of the wall. In the excitement of the moment, he hurled the head after it, and, drawing his sword, hastened from the castle in pursuit of the strange intruder.

Henry, or his authority, in narrating the above circumstance, gives way to the popular belief of his time, and describes it as the real apparition of the late faithless associate; but this evidently arises from that love for the marvellous peculiar to the age. When stripped of the poetical embellishments with which it is clothed, the story simply appears to have been this:—The English, on coming to the headless body of Fawdon, naturally conceived that the Scots had quarrelled among themselves; and some one thinking it probable, from the size, that the deceased might be Wallace,

* In the Scottish armies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, every man was supplied with a horn, generally that of a bullock, which he blew with vehemence, as he rushed on to the charge. The horrible noise this occasioned had often the effect of throwing the cavalry into confusion. These horns are sometimes alluded to in our national ballads.

for whose head a considerable reward was offered, took care to secure the prize. The impatience of Butler for revenge made him think of a night attack, provided they could discover the enemy; and the horns, therefore, which had been taken from those Scots who had fallen in the conflict, were made use of as a ruse to entrap them into the belief, that it was a party of their countrymen coming to their assistance. The soldier, who had got the head into his possession, appears to have been one of the scouts sent in search of the fugitives; and no doubt, eager to ascertain the value of his capture, had ventured forward with more confidence than his companions. Disappointment at finding the Scottish chief alive, no doubt, induced him to throw the head; and the terror which his name inspired made him likewise think it prudent to effect his retreat.

Though the horns still continued to sound, Wallace was too cautious to reply, but wandered about the forest, searching in silence for his lost companions. His efforts, however, were unavailing; and, at the dawn of the morning, he found himself on the verge of the forest. Here he was observed by Butler, who had rode out to view the posts. Dissatisfied with the answer returned to his challenge, the English leader drew his sword, and urged forward his steed. Wallace advancing from under the shade, which partly concealed him, Butler saw, with astonishment, the formidable foe he was in quest of, and prepared to fall back on his nearest position. His retreat, however, was anticipated by a blow which struck him from the saddle, and, before he could recover himself, the sword of his powerful antagonist had levelled him with the dust. Our hero had just reached the stirrup of his fallen enemy, when he observed an Englishman, armed cap-à-pie, advancing in full career towards him, with his spear in rest. By a dexterous management of his horse, he avoided the stroke; and whilst his foe, unable to recover himself, was hurrying past, he lent him a blow on the neck, which sent him headlong to the ground. The alarm was now spread among the English, whom Wallace observed collecting from various quarters to intercept his retreat. Giving the rein to his charger, he shot like an arrow through a straggling party of horse that seemed the least formidable, but who, on recovering from their surprise, set off in full pursuit, followed by the whole of their force.

Though, from his superior knowledge of the country, Wallace was frequently enabled to distance his pursuers; yet the keenness with which they kept up the chase, obliged him several times to turn and act on the offensive. As this was always done in situations where he could not be surrounded, those that were most forward paid dearly for their temerity; whilst the suddenness and fury of his repeated attacks spread a panic to the rear of his enemy, from the idea that he had met a reinforcement of his countrymen. Before the shades of evening had set in, twenty of the English were strewn along the line of his retreat; and those who were foremost, had become very cautious in approaching within reach of his arm. A rising part of the ground had, for some time, hid him from their view; and when they again came in sight of him, he appeared leading his jaded and breathless steed up a steep and rugged pass

between two craggy precipices. Though he was soon again obscured in the shades of twilight, from the exhausted state of his horse, they saw little probability of his being able to effect his escape. Having with difficulty followed in his track, they found, on descending a precipitous defile, an extensive morass spread before them, far as the eye could penetrate, at the edge of which lay the steed of their late commander, expiring from the wounds and fatigue it had encountered; but the object of their pursuit was nowhere to be seen. Strong picquets were sent out in every direction, but all their exertions were fruitless; and they returned at midnight to their head-quarters, without obtaining the slightest trace of the fugitive.

It has been mentioned, in the early part of our history, that the juvenile years of our hero were spent with a brother of his father, a wealthy ecclesiastic at Dunipace in Stirlingshire. Though he was withdrawn from the protection of this relative at an early age, yet he had been long enough under his roof to endear himself to all the servants and dependants. One of the former, a widow, now lived with her three sons in a secluded part of the Torwood, then an extensive forest in Stirlingshire. In the cottage of this woman, Wallace had in former emergencies found a place of concealment from his enemies; and on this occasion, about the dead hour of night, the faithful inmates were startled by the well-known signal at the window. Never did their heroic guest appear before them in greater distress; exhausted from fatigue, faint with hunger, his armour encrusted with blood, and every part of his dress drenched with water, showed the hardships and perils he had undergone.

After quitting his pursuers at the morass, he had, by a passage unknown to them, crossed over to the other side, and made the best of his way towards the Forth. A large force of the enemy, however, occupied Stirling, and he was therefore compelled to take the river at Camskenneth. After much difficulty, from the weight of his armour, he succeeded in gaining the opposite bank, and proceeded forward on his journey, satisfied that he had got considerably the start of his pursuers.

In the neighbourhood of the house where he had now taken refuge, was an oak * of huge dimensions, in a cavity of which he had frequently concealed himself from his enemies, when the search was too close to allow of his remaining within doors. To this retreat he now repaired, after partaking of that refreshment which his situation so much required. One of the widow's sons was despatched to acquaint his uncle with his safety, and to request his assistance; while another was sent off towards the scene of his late conflicts, to obtain, if possible, some intelligence of his lost companions.

The morning was pretty far advanced, when Wallace was awakened from his sleep by the sound of voices, and, starting to his feet, found his uncle and two of the widow's sons engaged in conversation, one of whom had been watching him during his sleep. His uncle, taking him by the arm, led him apart from the others, and began to inquire into his situation, representing to him, at the same time, the difficulties he was still likely to experience if he continued to persevere in so hopeless a

cause. "Your followers," added he, "are now either slain or dispersed, and all your efforts in the district you have been in, have not procured you a single friend to replace those you have lost; the plunder you have taken has either been recaptured, or left in places where it would be madness to hazard yourself in regaining it. Besides, were you even successful, to your utmost wish, in expelling the English from our country, do you believe that so powerful, so ambitious a prince as Edward, one who is considered the most accomplished warrior of his age, would allow the laurels to be torn from his brow by the son of an obscure Scottish laird? Would not the whole force of his mighty kingdom, assisted, if necessary, by his foreign auxiliaries and vassals, be poured upon our devoted country? Would not the inhuman butcheries which were witnessed at Berwick be again renewed in all our cities? Have we not already had too much experience of his cruelty, to think of increasing our misfortunes by fresh provocations? Listen, therefore, my dear son, to what I am authorized to propose to you. You are aware, that those men, whose duty and interest it was to have defended our country, have submitted to our enemies; if you will, therefore, give over your fruitless hostility to Edward, and acknowledge him as your liege lord, you will, in place of skulking from covert to covert, have it in your power to become the most powerful vassal of his crown."

Before his uncle had time to explain, Wallace withdrew his arm from his grasp. "My situation," said he, "is gloomy enough, but not so desperate as you imagine. I regret nothing that has yet happened, save the loss of my gallant friends; but I know where the sound of my horn can still call forth as many resolute spirits as will enable me to revenge their fall. Those who have joined me, know that the liberty of our country is the only object I have in view; and they also know, that I have always been as ready to expose my own life as theirs in the quarrel. The liberty which an unprincipled usurper is endeavouring to deprive us of, is the birthright we have inherited from our ancestors, and which belongs to our posterity, to whom it is our duty to transmit it. If we perish in doing so, we perish in doing what is right; and that God, who made us free men, will avert the scenes you dread, if we show ourselves worthy of his gift. If, on the contrary, we basely surrender what we only hold in trust for our children, the galling yoke of slavery will be a just retribution for defrauding them of their sacred inheritance. As to the proposal, come from whom it may, you can acquaint them, that the destruction of a single enemy of my country's independence affords me more pleasure than all the wealth which our proud oppressor has it in his power to bestow. Have you forgot, uncle," said he, while his stern features relaxed into a smile almost sarcastic—"have you forgot

"Dico tibi verum, Libertas optima rerum:
Nunquam servili sub nexu vivo, fili—"

"have you forgot those sentiments which you were at such pains to impress on my mind in the halcyon

* I tell you a truth, Liberty is the best of all things:
My son, never live under any slavish bond.

* See Appendix A.

days of my childhood *, when peace was in all our borders, and every man sat under his own vine and fig-tree, enjoying the fatherly protection of a righteous sovereign? And is there to be no effort, no sacrifice made to bring again those days to our poor distracted country?" He was proceeding, when the old man's eyes became suffused, recollections of the past crowded upon his mind, and he threw himself on the breast of his nephew.

While Wallace was thus engaged with his venerable relative, he was agreeably surprised to see his two friends, Kerle and Stephen, advancing towards him, accompanied by a son of his kind hostess. After mutual congratulations and expressions of joy, for the unexpected meeting, had passed between them, they communicated to each other the particulars of the events that had taken place since their separation; and, after receiving the benediction of the priest and returning thanks to the Virgin, they retired to consult about their future operations.

CHAPTER VIII.

WALLACE JOINED BY SIR JOHN GRAHAM.—PROCEEDINGS IN CLYDESDALE.—WALLACE VISITS LANARK.—ADVENTURE WITH A PARTY OF THE ENGLISH.

It appears, that an oath similar to that which Sir Raynald Crawford had been compelled to take, against holding correspondence with, or affording assistance to Wallace, had also been forced upon his other relatives, as we find the widow alluded to in the foregoing chapter made the instrument of conveying to him the proofs of his uncle's affection.

Having, by her means, been supplied with a considerable sum of money, as well as horses for himself and his companions, they set forward, accompanied by two of her sons whom she devoted to the cause, toward those districts where they had reason to expect a more cordial co-operation, than what they had experienced in the neighbourhood of St. Johnstone.

At the suggestion of his uncle, Wallace visited Dundaff Castle, on his way towards Clydesdale. This fortress, with the lands of Dundaff, Strathblane and Strathcarron, belonged to Sir David, or according to others, to Sir John Graham, an old warrior, who, in his early years, had recommended himself by his gallantry to Alexander, Lord High Steward of Scotland, by whom he is supposed to have been intrusted with an important command at the battle of Largs. His son and heir, Sir John, received, when but a stripling, the honour of knighthood at Berwick, on account of his conduct in a border feud with the Percies of Northumber-

* "The uncle of Wallace, a priest, so often inculcated, and so deeply imprinted, the following lines upon his mind and memory, that by them he squared all the thoughts of his great soul, and efforts of his vigorous body :

"*Dico tibi verum, Libertas optima rerum ;
Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito, fili.*"

Scotchichon. Maj. lib. 12. cap. iii.—See also Fordun, lib. xii. tap. iii.

land. During three days which Wallace passed at Dundaff, he and his companions experienced the most unbounded hospitality; and the old chieftain saw, with delight, those feelings of admiration and friendship with which his son and their noble guest appeared to view each other. Before the departure of the latter, Sir John, with the consent of his father, devoted himself to the cause of his country's independence, by swearing fidelity to Wallace as his chief, and would have instantly accompanied him, but it was deemed more prudent to remain with his father, till he was apprised of the number of followers Wallace could muster in Clydesdale. Meantime, he was to hold himself in readiness to advance, with his father's vassals, as soon as he should receive intimation. After mutual expressions of friendship, Wallace proceeded on his journey, and lodged the same night at Bothwell, in the house of one Crawford, from whom he received information of the state of the country and the strength of the enemy. The following night he reached Gillbank, in the neighbourhood of Lanark, where he remained with a near relation of his own; and from thence he despatched Stephen and Kerle, one to the west, and the other to the north, to acquaint his friends of his situation, and appoint a time and place to meet him.

It seems about this time a report had been circulated among the English, that Wallace had been slain in a mutiny of his followers. This rumour, no doubt occasioned by the circumstances attending the death of Fawdon, had reached Percy, along with the accounts of the destruction of Kinleven Castle, and the slaughter of Butler and the other English officers; but though he did not give it implicit belief, there was a degree of credit attached to it, particularly by the English in the upper part of Clydesdale, that caused our hero to be less taken notice of when he appeared among them. This was particularly serviceable to him in the visits which he now made to Lanark. We have already alluded to an attachment which Wallace entertained for a young gentlewoman of that place. A degree of obscurity hangs over the history of this amour. It is supposed, by those writers who have taken notice of the subject, that the parties had been privately married shortly after the battle of Beg, during the time that he remained in the forest of Clydesdale, and that the ceremony was performed by John Blair, but whether in the church, or under the "Greenwood Tree," is no where stated. Be that as it may, his situation was too precarious to allow him to remove her from her present residence. His visits were, therefore, made with the utmost secrecy, in such disguises, and at such hours, as would best enable him to escape the notice of his enemies. Meanwhile his sword was not allowed to rust. He and his companions were continually on the watch for stragglers from the English quarters; and as they always attacked them in situations where none could escape, their mysterious disappearance excited the greatest alarm among their countrymen. Various anecdotes are still in circulation among the peasantry of the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, regarding exploits performed by him about this time. Among others, there is a story still handed down, of the severe retaliation he inflicted on a party of Englishmen, who, having come to the same inn at which he and his com-

panions were refreshing themselves, had played off a barbarous attempt at waggery, by cutting the tails from the horses of the Scots. Blind Harry alludes to this circumstance; and the following address, which Wallace is represented as having made to their captain before he cut him down, may be considered as no unfavourable specimen of the humour of the man :—

“Gud freynd, abid,
Seruice to tak for thi craft in thi yde.
Marschell, thou art with out commaund off me;
Reward agayne, me think, I suld pay the;
Sen I off laitt, now come owt off the west
In this cuntré, a barbour off the best
To cutt and schaff, and that a wondyr gude;
Now thou sall feyll how I oys to lat blude.”

According to some accounts, the above transaction is said to have occurred at Lochmaben, and that he was afterwards pursued by Sir Hew of Moreland, who traced the Scots to the Knockwood by the blood that still continued to issue from their horses. Wallace being here joined by sixteen of his followers who had been lurking in the wood, an engagement commenced, in which, though greatly superior in numbers, the English were defeated, and Sir Hew, with near twenty of his men, were slain. This account is confirmed by a tradition still current in the neighbourhood; and is thus mentioned in the Statistical Account of the Parish of Kirkmichael. “There are several indistinct remains of ancient fortifications, but no tradition about any other than a small fort in the Knockwood, called Wallace’s House, said to have been thrown up by Sir William Wallace after he had slain Sir Hew of Moreland and five of his men, at a place still named from that event, the ‘*Sax Corses*,’ i. e. the six corpses, and where there are two or three large stones which seem to have been set up in remembrance of some great transaction.” Tradition may be generally relied on when it marks the spot where any remarkable occurrence has taken place; yet the circumstances connected with it are often mis-stated. The rude defence alluded to, under the name of Wallace’s House, may have been either hastily formed during the advance of Moreland and his party—as they are said to have been seen for some time before they reached the position occupied by the Scots—or possibly it may be the remains of some strength used in former wars. Wallace only seems to have availed himself of it to protect, for the moment, his little band from being overpowered by their numerous assailants; for we find him immediately after this victory obliged to quit Knockwood. Those Englishmen who escaped having fled to Lochmaben Castle, a detachment of three hundred horse were ordered to go in pursuit, under the command of one Graystock, an officer who had lately arrived from England with a strong reinforcement to fill up the deficiencies which Wallace had made in the garrisons. Ignorant in a great measure of the talents and prowess of the man he had to contend with, he upbraided his fugitive countrymen with cowardice, when they recommended caution to him in operations against so wary an adversary; and, bent on chastising what he termed the insolence of the freebooter, pressed forward with the greatest expedition.

The Scots, having supplied themselves with the

horses of their slain enemies, were preparing to advance into Clydesdale, near the confines of which Wallace had appointed to meet his trusty associates, Kerle and Stephen, with those friends who had promised to join him, when the formidable array of Graystock came in sight, at full gallop. Wallace now ordered his men to form, and retire with deliberation, taking care to keep their horses in breath, while he remained in the rear to repress any sudden attack that might be made. As the enemy advanced, Wallace, mounted on the horse of Moreland, kept in front of them, and rode with so much *sang froid*, occasionally looking over his shoulder, that an uninterested spectator might have supposed he was rather leading the English party on, than watching for a favourable opportunity of attacking them, while the terror of his name prevented any of them from moving from their ranks. They had thus contrived to follow the retreating Scots for some time, when Graystock ordered a movement, by which he imagined he would be able to surround Wallace and his little band. At this juncture Sir John Graham suddenly appeared with about thirty horse, followed by Sir Roger Kilpatrick of Thorowald, a near relation of Wallace by the mother’s side, who, in obedience to the message by the faithful Stephen, had taken the field with twenty of his tenantry. Wallace received these worthy confederates with three cheers, and instantly set them an example, by charging through the centre of the enemy: his friends having put themselves in array, pushed forward at their utmost speed, and soon completed the confusion he had commenced. The left wing of the enemy was thrown into disorder before the impetuous charge of the Scots; and Sir John Graham was busily employed in pursuing and cutting down the fugitives, when Wallace came up with him, and represented the impropriety of killing the common soldiers while their leaders were escaping; pointing out to him a body of one hundred of the enemy, which Graystock was endeavouring to keep entire, and recommended, as his horse were still in good condition, to charge and disperse them. Sir John quickly arranged his little squadron, and prepared with alacrity to execute the commands he had received. Wallace, who seldom gave orders which he did not see executed, was soon in the fray. The charge of Graham had been too impetuous to be withstood. Wallace found the enemy in confusion, and Graystock engaged hand to hand with the young knight of Dundaff. The conflict for a few moments remained doubtful, but the superior strength and dexterity of Graham soon became apparent; and the fall of the English leader was the signal of flight for his followers, who sought refuge in the place whence the Scots had been lately driven.

The victors were hastily recalled from the pursuit by the horn of their chief. Having collected them around him, he complimented them on the valour they had displayed, and proposed that they should instantly attack the Castle of Lochmaben; representing to them, that as the garrison had already been put to flight, if they could reach it before the fugitives returned, the plunder they might find would amply reward the labours they had undergone. The proposal was joyfully received; and they instantly set out under the guidance of a

person well acquainted with the intricacies of the country.

As their chief expected, the fortress had been left to the care of the porter and a few invalids, who were easily overpowered; and this place they found well stored with abundance of every thing their situation required. While enjoying themselves after the fatigues of the day, the remains of their discomfited enemies were observed hastening towards the castle. Orders being immediately given for their admission, on reaching the castle-yard, they were surrounded by the Scots, and, after a short conflict, indiscriminately put to the sword.

The fortress, which had thus unexpectedly fallen into their hands, was deemed so important an acquisition, that Wallace thought it advisable to leave a garrison in it. He then took his departure, accompanied by Sir John Graham, Kerle, Stephen, and a few other worthies, for the forest of Clydesdale.

CHAPTER IX.

ATTACK ON CRAWFORD CASTLE—RETURN TO LANARK—
CONFLICT WITH THE ENGLISH—MURDER OF THE
HEIRESS OF LAMINGTON—HER DEATH REVENGED—
THE ENGLISH DRIVEN OUT OF LANARK.

The Castle of Lochmaben is supposed to have been the first fortress in which Wallace ventured to place a garrison; and it is probable he was enabled to do so in consequence of a great many in the neighbourhood having joined his standard, encouraged no doubt by his late successes. This supposition is confirmed by the circumstance of his leaving behind him a few of those who had been in the engagement with Graystock.

While the insurrection was thus spreading in Scotland, Edward was prosecuting his views against France. The accounts of the proceedings of Wallace occasionally reached him, and arrested his attention in the midst of his victories; and though he felt no immediate apprehension from the attempts of the freebooter, as he was pleased to call the patriotic leader of the Scots, yet he considered him such an enemy as it was not altogether prudent to neglect.

The applications, therefore, which were made from time to time, by Percy and others intrusted with the management of Scottish affairs, were promptly attended to, and the requisite supplies forwarded to the different garrisons. Part of these supplies, as has been already hinted, had reached Lochmaben before the late encounter; most of the other fortified places had received their quota; and the garrison of the Castle of Crawford were in daily expectation of their proportion.

This fortress, which had belonged to the maternal ancestors of Wallace*, attracted his attention. Having learned, from a female whom he stopped on the moor, that the garrison, which consisted of about twenty men, were carousing in an hostelry in the neighbourhood of the castle, he proposed to Sir John Graham to attempt a surprise. For this purpose, he directed Graham to follow slowly with

the others under his command, while, with a companion, he went forward himself to observe the condition of the revellers. On approaching the door, the language within had become sufficiently audible; and he soon ascertained that he and his exploits were the subject of discussion; their captain, one Martindale, in the heat of his pot-valour, declaring to his men the pleasure which the presence of Wallace would afford him. Finding himself in request, the fearless Scot stepped forward. The "Benedicites" on both sides were brief; Wallace plied his weapon with his usual effect; and, aided by his companion, the maudlin bragadocio and his fellows were soon overpowered. Meanwhile, Sir John Graham, who had reached the door during the contest, was ordered off to secure the castle*; which duty, from the small number of its defenders, he easily performed.

Having burnt the castle, and divided the spoil among his followers, Wallace retired to Lanark on purpose, it is supposed, to concert measures for withdrawing from that place the object of his affections, and placing her in some retreat less exposed to the exactions of Hazelrig.

On this occasion, our hero, for the more effectually disguising himself†, had thrown a green mantle over his armour, which he fastened with a belt, from which depended his sword. At the entrance of the town, his dress, and particularly the uncommon length of his sword, attracted the notice of some of the soldiers belonging to the garrison; and one of them, more insolent than the others, made a snatch at it. Wallace evaded the

* According to a tradition still current about Crawford, Wallace is said to have first approached the castle in the disguise of an old beggar, with a patch over one eye, and his sword concealed under his cloak. In this dress, he entered into conversation with a woman engaged in washing clothes in the Clyde. From her he learned, that part of the garrison, amounting to about fifteen men, were carousing in a "hostellerie" hard by, kept by two brothers of the name of Watt. To this place he repaired, and getting among them, it was not long before he discovered that he was the subject of their conversation. Some, more elated with the contents of the cup than their neighbours, loudly expressed the satisfaction they would feel at having a "bout" with the champion of the Scots; while he who appeared to bear command among them, declared how willingly and handsomely he would reward the man who would bring them together. Wallace offered, for "sma' hire," to comply with their wishes; and rising, as if for the purpose, drew forth his formidable weapon, and commenced an attack upon the party, whom he was fortunate enough, by his superior strength and dexterity, to overpower and put to death. His horn was then sounded; and his companions, quitting their lurking places, rallied around him, and surprised the castle in the manner described. The house where the above action is understood to have taken place, is still to be seen in the village of Crawford-John. It continues to be occupied by the descendants of one of the two brothers above alluded to, who was married to a woman named Dalziel, and whose progeny continued to rent it as tenants, till about three hundred years ago, when one of them, who was piper to the proprietor, received a perpetual feu of the house, and a small portion of land attached to it, for some piece of service he had performed. The room in which the above adventure is said to have occurred, is at the end of the building, nearest to the ruins of Crawford Castle; and the present occupant, Mr. Dalziel, with praiseworthy attention, endeavours to preserve, as much as possible, the original appearance of the house. The ditch into which the dead bodies of the English were thrown, is still pointed out.

† Wyntoune, vol. ii. p. 92.

* See Appendix, B.

attempt to deprive him of his weapon ; when a sarcastic * dialogue ensued, which soon ended in blows ; and the English, seeing their companion no match for the Scot, rushed forward to his assistance. Hemmed in on all sides, Wallace became roused into fury, and dealt his blows around him with fearful and destructive energy. His ponderous blade descended with rapid and crashing effect among the bucklers and head-pieces of the enemy, who had begun to retire in confusion, before his irresistible arm ; when others arriving, who were unacquainted with the foe they had to contend with, rushed headlong to the fray. Experience, however, soon taught them to be more cautious in their advance ; and Wallace had set them completely at bay, when young Hazelrig came on with a fresh party to their assistance. Thus reinforced, and eager to revenge their companions, they were now fast gathering round our hero, when a door facing him suddenly opened, and a fair hand beckoned him from the *melée*. Wallace quickly embraced the means of escape thus afforded him ; and the door being instantly shut against his enemies, gave him an opportunity of saving himself by an outlet behind the house.

Old Hazelrig †, or, as Wyntown calls him, the Sheriff, was not in Lanark at the time of this affray ; but, on hearing the account of it, and learning the number of English who had been killed, he hastened to town, and caused the fair orphan of Lamington to be brought before him. On discovering her connection with Wallace, and the assistance she had so opportunely afforded him, in a paroxysm of rage and disappointment, he ordered her for instant execution.

In the account of this affair, we have adhered to the statement of Wyntown ‡, who adds, that Wallace, from a place of concealment, had the heart-rending misfortune to be a spectator of the execution of his mistress, without having the power of attempting a rescue. This would not have been the case, if he had, as the Minstrel says, been attended by Sir John Graham, and twenty-four of his associates. Wyntown represents it as a mere personal adventure of Wallace ; and states, that, after the melancholy catastrophe, he went in search of his friends, to assist him in revenging the atrocity. Having collected thirty of his followers, he returned with them, for that purpose, to Lanark. At the dead hour of night, the door of the sheriff's apartment was burst from its hinges, and the iron-grasp of Wallace awakened Hazelrig from his sleep. On being dragged headlong to the street, after a stern reproof for his cowardly conduct, the trembling victim instantly received the reward due to his villany. The alarm now spread, and the garrison soon engaged with Wallace and his party ; but deeply incensed at the late disgusting act of barbarity, the people of Lanark rose *en masse* against their oppressors, who, unable to stand their ground, were soon overpowered, and driven with great slaughter from the town.

The inhabitants of Lanark, having thus identified themselves with the cause of Wallace, saw no alternative left them, but to join heart and hand with the avenger of their country's wrongs ; and the number that now flocked to his standard

enabled him to take the field openly, and bid defiance to the enemy. Indeed, so formidable was the force under his command, that he met and defeated a considerable body of the English in a regular engagement in the neighbourhood of Biggar. It has been alleged, that, on this memorable occasion, Edward commanded in person ; but such could not have been the case, as the English monarch was not in the country at the time. That a considerable battle was fought in the neighbourhood, there is reason to believe, as well from current tradition, as from the number of *tumuli* which are still to be seen. In the statistical account of Biggar, the subject is thus taken notice of :—" At the west end of the town is a tumulus, which appears never to have been opened ; and there are vestiges of three camps, each of a roundish figure, at different places in the neighbourhood. There is a tradition of a battle having been fought at the east of the town, between the Scots, under Sir William Wallace, and the English, who were said to be sixty thousand strong, wherein a great slaughter was made on both sides, especially among the latter."

These accounts, however, are decidedly at variance with truth, both in regard to the amount of the English, and the person who commanded. It is more probable, that the enemy did not exceed eight, or at most ten thousand men, part of which appears to have been under the command of Roden, Lord de Whichenour. On the side of the Scots, Sir Walter Newbigging*, already referred to, headed a body of cavalry. His son David, a youth, at that time little more than fifteen years of age, held a command under him, and the well-tried military talents of the father were not disgraced by the efforts of the young patriot, whose conduct on this occasion was afterwards rewarded by the honour of knighthood, probably conferred by the hand of our hero himself. The family of Newbigging, as has already been noticed, came originally from England ; and Sir Walter and his son, on this occasion, found themselves opposed to their near kinsman, the Lord of Whichenour.

At the head of what might now be called an army, Wallace kept the field ; and the celerity of his movements confounded all the calculations of the enemy. While the main body of his forces appeared in their formidable intrenchments, occupying the attention of the English, distant garrisons were surprised, and put to the sword by foes, who seemed to spring up as it were within their walls, and of whose approach they had not the slightest intimation.

About this time, one of those iniquitous acts, so often met with in the cold-blooded and relentless policy of Edward, was perpetrated at Ayr, against the barons and gentry of the west of Scotland. This part of the country had been the nucleus, as it were, of the insurrection ; and the ill-disposed and well-affected had now become equally objects of suspicion to the usurper's government. Under the pretext of holding a Justice-Aire, they were summoned to attend ; and those who appeared (among whom were Sir Raynald Crawford, Sir Bryce Blair †, and Sir Hugh Montgomerie) were

* *Memorie of the Somervills*, vol. i. p. 80, 81.

† The family, from which Sir Bryce Blair is descended, has come down till the present time. He was third in succession from William de Blair, mentioned in a contract

* *Vide* Introduction to this work, p. 26.

† Fordun calls him, *Willielmus de Hastiope*.

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 92-95.

treacherously seized, and hung up without even the formality of a trial.

Wallace heard of the infamous proceeding, and determined on severe retaliation. Selecting fifty of his confederates, he hastened to the spot, and being joined by a number of the retainers of the murdered gentlemen, they surrounded the buildings where the English were cantoned, and who, indulging in fancied security arising from the terror which they imagined the late severity was likely to impress upon the Scots, had, after a deep carousal, betaken themselves to rest, little dreaming of the vengeance that awaited them.

Having procured the necessary combustibles, Wallace, after disposing of his men, so as to prevent the escape of any of the English, set fire to the thatch, which being covered with pitch, the flames soon spread to every part of the buildings, and rose in one general conflagration; while the screaming wretches within, vainly attempting to escape, were received on the points of the Scottish swords, and either killed, or forced back, to perish in the devouring element. It is said that 500 of the English suffered in this lamentable manner. The severity of the retaliation can only be palliated by the nature of the war the parties were engaged in, and the desperation to which the cruelty of the invaders had goaded on the wretched inhabitants. If tradition may be credited, Wallace did not remain till the flames were extinguished; for, when about two miles on his return, at an elevated part of the road, he is said to have made his men look back on the still blazing scene of their vengeance, remarking, at the same time, that "The barns of Ayr burn weel." The ruins of a church are still to be seen on the spot where the chief and his followers stood to take their last look, and which is named from the circumstance, "*Burn weel Kirk* *."

CHAPTER X.

AFFAIR OF GLASGOW—DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF BISHOP BEK—WALLACE JOINED BY A NUMBER OF THE BARONS—EXPEDITION TO THE WEST HIGHLANDS—BATTLE OF BRADHER, AND DEATH OF M'FADYAN.

ABOUT this time Sir William Douglas took the Castles of Dresdier and Sanquhair, as already

between Ralph de Eglinton and the town of Irvine, in 1205; and who is said to have died in the reign of Alexander II., betwixt the years 1214 and 1249, leaving a son also named William, who, in a charter of Alexander III., is styled *Willelmus de Blair, Dominus de eodem*, or of that ilk. This William left two sons; 1st Bryce, and 2d David. He was succeeded by the eldest, Sir Bryce Blair of that ilk, who, having given umbrage to the English, by joining our hero, was put to death in the treacherous manner described in our history. His brother David, who succeeded to the estates, had submitted to Edward, along with the aristocracy in 1296. Though the head of this family was considered as the chief of all the Blairs in Scotland, yet their title was often called in question by the Blairs of Balthycock, a family of great antiquity. The affair was at last brought before James VI., who decided, that "*the oldest man, for the time being, of either family, should have the precedence.*" It is probable that John Blair, who acted as chaplain to Wallace, was a cadet of this family.

* See Appendix, C.

stated in the short notice we have given of his exploits. In conjunction with Wallace, this active and powerful baron, assuming the sanction of the name of Baliol, endeavoured to enforce the edict for the expulsion of the English ecclesiastics holding benefices in Scotland. This edict, issued between the time of the taking of Berwick and the Castle of Dunbar, had been rendered nugatory by the suppression of Scottish independence. It was now, however, executed with the utmost rigour, wherever the influence of the insurgents extended. In pursuance of this object, Wallace, at the head of three hundred choice cavalry, proceeding to Glasgow to dislodge Bishop Bek, who, with a garrison of one thousand men, kept possession of the town and episcopal castle, belonging to Robert Wishart, the Scottish bishop of that place.

As the Scots drew near the spot against which their operations were directed, Wallace divided his followers into two bands. Taking the command of one himself, he committed the other to the guidance of his uncle, the Laird of Auchinleck. "*Whether,*" said our hero to his gallant kinsman, "*do you choose to bear up the bishop's tail, or go forward and take his blessing?*" Auchinleck at once understood the intended plan of attack, and proposed assailing the rear of the English, resigning the more honourable post to the merits of his nephew, "*who,*" as he jocularly observed, "*had not yet been confirmed.*"

Having received the necessary instructions, Wallace enjoined him to be diligent; "*for,*" said he, "*the men of Northumberland are all good warriors.*" The parties separated; that under Auchinleck to make a compass round the town, so as to get in rear of the enemy; and the other, under the conduct of Wallace, advanced up the principal street leading to the castle. Their approach, however, had been discovered; for, when near the present site of the college church, the Scots came in contact with the English, and the inhabitants had scarcely time to shelter themselves in their houses, before a dreadful conflict commenced. The powerful and warlike prelate with whom our patriots had to contend, possessed a feudal following of knights and esquires, inferior only to that of Edward himself. The narrow street, however, in which they were engaged was in favour of the Scots; and the sword of Wallace told dreadfully on the helmets and headpieces of the enemy. The manner in which he swept his antagonists before him, is still a matter of tradition among the descendants of the early inhabitants of Glasgow. Though the enemy fought with obstinacy, the gallantry of the Scots sustained them against the efforts of their numerous opponents; and in the heat of the engagement, Wallace having unhorsed Henry of Hornecester, a stout monk, who carried the banner of the bishop*, this circumstance

* The family banner of Bek, according to Walter of Exeter, a cotemporary authority, was, "*Gules, with a fer de moulin of ermine.*" Though Henry de Hornecester was in the habit of carrying the banner of St. Cuthbert, it was only on extraordinary occasions that this unwieldy ensign was displayed; and it is not likely that, amid the bustle of so unexpected an attack, they could spare time to get it ready, even if the occasion had been a proper one, it being chiefly reserved for high festivals. As it had been brought into Scotland the preceding year, it was very likely retained, along with that of St. John of Beverly, to grace the processions of the proud and imperious churchman in his new diocese.

damped the ardour of some of the superstitious vassals of the prelate, who now fell back before a vigorous charge of the Scots. At this juncture, those under Auchinleck having reached the elevated ground in the rear of the English, and seeing the turmoil of battle that was raging below, hastily arranged themselves for the charge, and, before the enemy were fully apprised of their danger, the torrent of spears came rushing down upon them with overwhelming impetuosity. Their dismay was now complete. A hasty and disordered retreat ensued, and the by-ways leading from the High-street were so choked up by the fugitives, that a number of them were trampled to death by their companions. Bek * effected his escape, with about 300 horse, and directed his flight towards England, carrying with him, it is supposed, the sacred banner of St. Cuthbert and that of St. John of Beverly †.

While Wallace was thus employed in expelling the English ecclesiastics from the west of Scotland, Sir William Douglas was engaged in forwarding the same object in the south. In these proceedings they are charged by the English authors with extreme cruelty. "The unhappy priests," says Knighton, "had their hands tied behind their backs, and in this helpless state were thrown from high bridges into rivers, their dying agonies affording sport to their merciless captors." Fordun merely says, that Wallace pretended to execute the edict of 1296, which appointed all English ecclesiastics to be expelled from Scotland. On which Lord Hailes remarks, "I hope this is not true; it has too much the appearance of a political pretext, by which defenceless individuals might be persecuted ‡." There was little occasion for his Lordship's sympathy. The thirteenth century was not the period when *churchmen* were the objects of *causeless* persecutions. Their expulsion appears to have been the result of their political intrigues and criminal interference with the records of the country intrusted to their charge. And from their placing these documents in the hands of Edward at Norham, he was enabled to give a colouring of justice to his attempts upon the independence of Scotland. The evidence which these falsified muniments afforded is mentioned by Langtoft §, as being submitted by Edward to the English barons for their advice before the business of the submission respecting the Scottish crown was entered upon. When the Scots reflected on the many thousands of their nation, of all ages, who had already been butchered at Berwick and Dunbar,—the oppressions that had followed,—the apparently interminable war entailed upon them in support of the pretended proofs of the supremacy of England; it is not to be wondered at, that they should attempt to get rid of those canker-worms who had nestled in their country, and ungratefully betrayed its sacred and most invaluable interests. The edict was early published, and at a time when it could serve no other purpose than a protest

* It has been asserted that Henry de Percy was killed on this occasion. It is, however, a mistake; Percy, at the time of the encounter, was either in the eastern part of Scotland, along with Robert de Clifford, or in attendance on his uncle the Earl of Warren, in Northumberland.

† See Appendix, D. ‡ Annals, vol. i. p. 299.

§ Vol. ii. p. 248.

against the baseness of their conduct. When the insurrection, therefore, broke out under Wallace, it was not to be expected that individuals who had rendered themselves so deservedly obnoxious, would be treated with much lenity, if they still attempted to retain their temporalities at the expense of the people they had endeavoured to enslave *.

Wallace, uniting his forces with those under Douglas, now made a rapid march upon Scone, expecting to surprise Ormsby, the Justiciary of Edward, who was holding his courts in that place. The attempt was all but completely successful. They came unexpectedly on the enemy, a great many of whom were either killed or taken prisoners, and a rich booty fell into the hands of the Scots. Ormsby narrowly escaped; and, impressed with terror at the late dreadful acts of retaliation, fled with precipitation to England. Encouraged by these successes, a number of the aristocracy joined the banner of our hero, among whom were the Steward of Scotland, his brother the Knight of Bonkill, Alexander de Lindsay, Sir John Stewart of Rusky (or Menteith), Sir Richard Lundin, and Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, whom he had so lately relieved from the obnoxious interference of the Bishop of Durham. In consequence of this timely assistance, Wallace was enabled to undertake an enterprise of considerable importance.

The reader will perceive, by the annexed note †,

* It is hoped that the writer will not be considered as attempting to justify any thing like wanton cruelty on the part of Wallace and his compatriots. When he finds authors, Scottish as well as English, bewailing the fate of these unfortunate churchmen, he considers it but an act of justice to the accused, that the crime of the other party should be put upon record, in order that the reader may be able to ascertain the degree of sympathy to which the sufferers may be entitled.

† The following diary of the progress of Edward through Scotland, in 1296, has been lately published by Mr. N. H. Nicolas, in a volume of the Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of London. It is translated from a MS. in old Norman French; and the names of the places are sometimes a little obscure.

"On the 28th March, 1296, being Wednesday in Easter-week, King Edward passed the Tweed, and lay in Scotland,—

"At Coldstream Priory.

"Hutton or Haudene, 29th March, Thursday.

"Friday, being Good-Friday, 30th March, Sack of Berwick.

"Battle of Dunbar, April 24, 26, 27.

"Edward marches from Berwick to Coldingham; 28th April to Dunbar.

"Haddington, Wednesday, Even of Ascension, May 3.

"Lauder, Sunday, May 6.

"Rokisburgh, Monday, May 7, where Edward remained fourteen days.

"Jedworth, May 23.

"Wyl, Thursday, May 24; Friday, 25, to Castleton; Sunday, 27, again to Wyl.

"Jedworth, Monday, May 28.

"Rokisburgh, Friday, June 1.

"Lauder, Monday, June 4.

"Newbattle, Tuesday, June 5.

"Edinburgh, Wednesday, June 6, siege of Edinburgh.

"Linthgow, June 14.

"Stirling, Thursday, June 14. At Outreard, June 20.

"Perth, Thursday, June 21, where he remained three days.

"Kincleven on the Tay, June 25.

"Cluny, Tuesday, June 26. Abode there till July 1.

"Entrecoit, Monday, July 2.

"Forfar, Tuesday, July 3.

that though Edward had made a triumphal march with his army from Berwick to Elgin; yet that interesting and extensive portion of Scotland, comprising the West Highlands and Islands, had never been profaned by the foot of the usurper. This may have been partly averted, by most of the chieftains coming forward and taking the oath of allegiance, and partly by the extreme difficulty of leading a numerous army through a country so intersected by arms of the sea, and rendered almost inaccessible by its rocky and mountainous barriers. In order to have some control over a people so isolated, the policy of Edward at first suggested the idea of carrying along with him those chieftains whose influence was considered the most extensive. This measure, however, he soon perceived was not so effectual as he anticipated, and he accordingly determined on sending a colony of Irish to fix themselves in some central part of the country he wished to overawe. With this view he compelled MacDougal of Lorn, whom he had carried with him to London, to exchange his patrimony for an equivalent of lands belonging to himself.

Having effected this, he gave a grant*, of no very certain limits, to a creature of his own named M'Fadyan, who, with a tumultuous horde of Anglo-Irish and renegade Scots, amounting to about fifteen thousand, landed in Lorn, and proceeded to ravage the country with fire and sword,—committing the most revolting atrocities on such of the inhabitants as refused to join them. Much obscurity hangs over the birth, connections, and character of the leader of this cloud of locusts. According to *Blind Harry*, his origin was low,

- " Fernwell, Friday, July 6.
- " Montrose, Saturday, July 7. Abode there till the 10th.
- " Kincardine in the Mearns, Wednesday, July 11.
- " Bervie, Thursday, July 12.
- " Dunn Castle, Friday, July 13.
- " Aberdeen, Saturday, July 14.
- " Kinkell, Friday, July 20.
- " Fyvie, Saturday, July 21.
- " Banff, Sunday, July 22.
- " Invercullen, Monday, 23.
- " In tents on the river Spey, district of Enzie, Tuesday, July 24.
- " Repenae, in the county of Moray, Wednesday, July 25.
- " Elgin, Thursday, July 26. Remained for two days.
- " Rothes, Sunday, July 29.
- " Innerkerack, Monday, July 30.
- " Kildrummie, Tuesday, July 31.
- " Kincardine in the Mearns.
- " Kildrummie, Tuesday.
- " Kincardine in the Mearns, Tuesday, August 2.
- " Brechin, Saturday, August 4.
- " Aberbrothoc, Sunday, August 5.
- " Dundee, Monday, August 6.
- " Balgarnach, the Redcastle, Tuesday, August 7.
- " St. Johnston's, Wednesday, August 8.
- " Abbey of Lindores, Thursday, August 9. Tarried Friday.
- " St. Andrew's, Saturday, August 11.
- " Markinch, Sunday, August 12.
- " Dunfermline, Monday, August 13.
- " Stirling, Tuesday, August 14. Tarried Wednesday 15th.
- " Linlithgow, Thursday, August 16.
- " Edinburgh, Friday, August 17. Tarried Saturday 18th.
- " Haddington, Sunday, August 19.
- " Pykelton, near Dunbar, Monday, August 20.
- " Coldingham, Tuesday, August 21.
- " Berwick, Wednesday, August 22.
- " Having spent twenty-one weeks in his expedition."

* This grant included Argyle as well as Lorn.

although high in favour at the English court. He seems to have held some situation of importance in Ireland, as the *Minstrel*, referring to those Irish refugees who took shelter in Scotland under Wallace, says,

" Sum part off tham was in to Irland borne,
That Makfadyan had exile furth before;
King Edwardis man he was sworn of England,
Off rycht law byrth, suppos he tuk on hand."

Buke Feyd, 180.

Having talents and ambition he allied himself to the enemies of his country, and, like other mushrooms, thrrove amid the rankness of that corruption with which he had surrounded himself. A wretch that had risen by oppressing and assisting to bind the necks of his free-born countrymen to the yoke of slavery, was a very fit instrument to employ in forwarding the views of Edward in the subjugation of Scotland.

He had not, however, proceeded far before the *Crann-tàir*, or fiery cross, was seen hurrying on, by hill and glen, to gather the children of the Gaël to repel their savage assailants. Duncan of Lorn, the uncle, or, according to some, the younger brother of the chief, unable to withstand the superior force of the enemy, had retreated towards Loch-Awe, to obtain the protection of Sir Niel Campbell. This brave man, along with his brother *Donnchadh dubh nan Caisteal* (Black Duncan of the Castles), had collected a body of three hundred *Gall-oglaich* (well armed warriors), part of whom were the vassals of Malcolm MacGregor of Glenurchy*. With this force he continued to embarrass the enemy, by attacking their foraging parties and cutting off their supplies. This determined Mac Fadyan to follow him through the fastnesses of the country, and endeavour to overwhelm him by his superior numbers. Sir Niel managed his retreat with great dexterity. After leading his unwary adversary round by the head of Bradher Pass, he hurried down that dangerous and difficult defile, and, crossing the narrow and ill-constructed fabric which served for a bridge, he broke it down; and thus being secure from immediate pursuit, found himself in one of the strongest

* This person was the chief of the ancient and warlike clan Gregor, and one of the few of the West Highland chiefs who took a part in the struggle for the independence of the country. He remained steady in his loyalty to Robert Bruce, whom he is said to have rescued from John of Lorn at Dalreoch. On this occasion he was mounted on a milk-white steed. He afterwards harboured the King in a large cave near Cragcrastan, which is to this day called "*Uagh na riogh*, or the *King's Cave*," from which he crossed over and met the Earl of Lennox at Lochlomond. Malcolm fought at the Battle of Bannockburn, and is said to have been the person who brought the relic of St. Fillan's arm from the country of that name, then part of his property, to King Robert's chaplain, who very adroitly passed it off for a miracle, and thereby excited the hopes and stimulated the valour of the army. So sensible was Bruce of this piece of service, that he founded a priory in honour of the saint in Strathfillan in 1314. Malcolm was much celebrated in the songs of the bards. He fought under King Edward Bruce in Ireland; and having received a wound at the battle of Dundalk, he retired home in consequence; and as he never entirely recovered, he was called ever after, "*Mórhear bacach*," or the lame lord.

positions imaginable. His front was defended by a castle, which commanded the only approach by which he could be assailed; while his rear was protected by the Awe, a deep and rapid river, running out of a loch of the same name. The almost perpendicular barrier of rocks which lined the side of the Awe—down which, as has already been mentioned, Sir Niel and his party had to make their way, before they could place the river between them and their pursuers—was of such a nature, that a man could not get on without the assistance of his hands, to prevent him from slipping down into the deep and eddying abyss below; and even with this assistance, at the present day, it is a passage of considerable danger, from the enormous masses of loose stones with which the sloping face of the rocks is covered, from the brink of the water to their summits, which are of great elevation. The least accidental derangement of the stones at the bottom, never fails to put those above in motion, when an immense rush takes place, attended often with serious consequences to the parties underneath. The reader may readily conceive the facility, therefore, with which, thus circumstanced, Sir Niel and his followers could, from the opposite side of the river, retard the advance of even a larger army than that of M'Fadyan. The difficulty of the pass is not perceptible till the angle of the rock is fairly turned, consequently the Irish army had no opportunity of covering their advance by discharging their missiles. They were obliged to follow each other singly; thus affording, as they came creeping along, fair marks for the arrows of the Scots, part of whom plied their deadly shafts, while others were engaged in throwing stones from their slings against the face of the rocks, and thus bringing down masses of the loose fragments upon the heads of their already embarrassed pursuers.

The castle to which Sir Niel retired, though small, possessed great natural advantages. Situated on a rocky knoll at the edge of a deep ravine, it could only be approached from the road through which M'Fadyan had to advance, and that by means of a ladder which the party within always kept on their own side. When they wished to admit any one, a rope was thrown over that he might pull the ladder towards him; he then descended to the bottom of the ravine, when, placing the ladder against the opposite rock, in this manner he ascended and reached the castle*.

When Sir Niel Campbell had determined on his line of retreat, he despatched Duncan of Lorn, and an old, but swift-footed Highlander, named Michael or Gillemichel, to acquaint Wallace of his perilous situation, and to crave his aid in driving the invaders from the country. Wallace, aware of the importance of preventing the establishment intended by Edward, lost no time in complying

* The rock on which the castle stood, was then known, as it is to this day, by the name of *Crag-an-àradh*, or the *rock of the ladder*. The Minstrel calls it *Crage-unyn*. This deviation is extremely small, and more in the orthography than the orthopy. The West-Highlanders pronounce *crag-an-àradh*, nearly as if spelled *craganari*. The difference may have easily occurred in the act of transcribing. The mode of crossing the ravine as above described, was in use till the present road was made by government, when a bridge was substituted for the less commodious expedient of a ladder.

with the request of his old confederate; and Sir Richard Lundin having joined him with five hundred men, he now found himself enabled to march to the relief of the West Highlanders, at the head of two thousand soldiers.

In Duncan of Lorn and his servant, Wallace had sure and intelligent guides. At that time nothing but intricate footpaths, known only to the natives, existed in the Highlands; and as they were often formed by deer-stalkers, while tracing their game, they frequently led through places both perilous and perplexing to the stranger.

By the time the Scottish army had reached the Chapel of St. Phillan, part of the foot soldiers began to flag, and get disordered in their ranks. Wallace, therefore, stopped, and thus addressed them. "Good men," said he, "this will never do. If we come up with the enemy in such broken array, we may receive serious injury ourselves, but can do them very little hurt in return. It is also necessary that we should be up with them as soon as possible; for if they hear of our approach, they may choose a plain field, where their numbers will give them advantage. To prevent this, I will go forward with those who are able, and leave the rest to follow at more leisure." Accordingly, taking with himself two hundred of the tried veterans of Ayrshire, and placing another hundred under the command of Sir John Graham, with Sir Richard Lundin at the head of his own followers, they crossed a mountain in their front, and descended into Glendouchar. Here they met a scout, whom they had previously sent forward, acting as guide to Sir Niel Campbell and his three hundred Highlanders. This wary leader, on hearing of the advance of Wallace, thought it proper to retire towards him, and leave the passage free to M'Fadyan, who, he knew, if he followed, could make choice of very few positions where his numbers would be of any advantage. Having given our hero a detail of what information he possessed respecting the state of the invaders, Gillemichel was again sent forward to watch the motions of the enemy; and the tough old mountaineer having fallen in with a scout from M'Fadyan, who had been sent to track the route of Sir Niel, managed to despatch him with his *claidh mòr*, and returned with the intelligence to his chief.

The ground having now become impassable for cavalry, the Scots dismounted, and proceeded on foot. Their march had not been perceived by the enemy, and, from the superior knowledge they had of the country, they managed to surprise the Irish in a situation where flight was almost impracticable, and the superiority of their numbers became rather a disadvantage. The conflict continued for two hours, with unexampled fury on both sides. Multitudes of the Irish were forced over the rocks into the gulf below. Many threw themselves into the water to escape the swords of the Scots; while various bands of Highlanders, stationed among the rocks, sent down showers of stones and arrows where the enemy appeared most obstinate in the strife. Wallace, armed with a steel mace, at the head of his veterans, now made a charge, which decided the fate of the day. Those Scots who had joined the Irish, threw away their arms, and on their knees implored mercy. M'Fadyan, with fifteen of his men, having made his way over the rocks, and attempted to conceal himself in a cave,

“wndyr cragnòr,” Duncan of Lorn requested permission of Wallace to follow and punish him for the atrocities he had committed; and it was not long before he returned, bringing his head on a spear, which Sir Niel Campbell caused to be fixed on the top of the rock in which he had taken shelter.

After the defeat of M'Fadyan, Wallace held a meeting of the chiefs of the West Highlands, in the priory of Ardehatten; and having arranged some important matters respecting the future defence of the district, he returned to his duties in the Low Country, having received an accession to his numbers, which covered any loss he had sustained in the late engagement. The spoil which the Scots collected after the battle is said to have been very considerable; any personal share in which, our hero, as usual, refused*.

CHAPTER XI.

ROBERT BRUCE JOINS THE STANDARD OF WALLACE—PERCY AND CLIFFORD SENT TO SUPPRESS THE INSURRECTION—NIGHT SKIRMISH IN ANNANDALE—DISAFFECTION OF THE SCOTTISH NOBLES—WALLACE RETIRES TO THE NORTH—BATTLE OF STIRLING BRIDGE.

THE success of the insurrection excited by Wallace has been attributed by some English authors—and by Langtoft † in particular—to the foolish parsimony of Cressingham, who had disgusted the English soldiery by withholding their pay, at a time when their services might have been of the greatest advantage. In consequence of this unjust procedure, many of the yeomen and pages, finding little else than danger to be met with in the service, deserted their posts, and returned to their own country. Although the impolitic and avaricious character of the English treasurer is a matter on which the authors of both countries are agreed, the precipitation with which the garrisons of the Usurper now retreated on the approach of the Scots, shows that the severe examples which had already been made were not without their effect.

While our hero was thus following up his plan for the emancipation of his country, his standard was unexpectedly joined by the younger Robert Bruce. This powerful baron, it seems, had incurred the suspicion of the Warden of the Western Marches, who summoned him to attend at Carlisle, on pretence of business relating to the kingdom. Afraid to disobey, Bruce made his appearance, accompanied by a numerous retinue of his followers, and was there obliged to make oath on the consecrated host, and the sword of Thomas à Becket, that he would remain the faithful vassal of the King of England. In order to prove his loyalty, and do away with the mistrust attached to him, he made an inroad on the estates of Sir William Douglas, who at the time was acting with Wallace, and carried off his wife and children to one of his own fortresses in Annandale. Having thus lulled the suspicions that had been awakened, he next assembled his father's vassals, and endeavoured to

persuade them to join him in attempting the deliverance of their country. In this, however, he was disappointed: he therefore collected his own retainers, and marched to the quarters of Wallace; consoling himself with the reflection, that the Pope would easily absolve him from his extorted oath.

The insurrection in Scotland had hitherto been regarded by Edward more as the unconnected operations of banditti, than any thing like an organized scheme for regaining the national independence. Having most of the Scottish barons in his power from whom he thought he had any thing to apprehend, and conceiving that their vassals would not dare to move without the warrant of their superior,—he looked upon the affair as one which the troops he had left behind were more than sufficient to suppress. In this opinion he was confirmed both by the English and the Scotch barons whom he had along with him. The latter, either ignorant, or pretending ignorance of the talents and resources of our hero, represented their presence as being absolutely necessary before any formidable force could be brought into the field; and Langtoft* charges the English barons with deceiving their sovereign in the affair, and concealing from him the real state of the country. It is a matter of notoriety, that about this time, Edward and his nobles were not on the best of terms. Having now, as he thought, in addition to Wales, insured the subjection and obedience of Scotland, and remembering the facility with which, by the aid of 30,000 Scots lent him by Alexander III., he overawed and suppressed the Earl of Gloucester and those who took part with him; he began to assume towards the English nobility an imperious and haughty demeanour, which both alarmed their fears and excited their jealousy. The unprincipled stretches of power which he had attempted since his triumphal entry into London after his victories in Scotland, had also sown the seeds of dissatisfaction among the inferior classes, who, no longer dazzled with the splendour of his achievements over the freedom of their neighbours, began to reflect on the encroachments which their ambitious sovereign was making on their own.

When Edward, therefore, became fully apprised of the serious nature of the revolt in Scotland, he paused in the midst of preparations for an expedition to Flanders, and despatched orders to the Earl of Surrey for the suppression and punishment of the insurgents. This distinguished and powerful nobleman, the most efficient perhaps of all Edward's generals, was at that time residing in Northumberland for the recovery of his health. Having associated with him in the command, his nephew Lord Henry Percy, and Robert de Clifford, he sent them forward with forty thousand foot and three hundred cavalry, a force which he deemed sufficient to restore the country to the allegiance of his master †.

While the troops under Percy and Clifford were on their march through Annandale, their camp was attacked during the night by a body of Scots, led on by Wallace and Douglas. The darkness prevented the English from at first discovering the numbers of their assailants. Much confusion in consequence ensued; and many were either killed or driven into the adjacent morass. In this ex-

* See Appendix, E.

† Vol. ii. p. 297.

* Vol. ii. p. 197.

† See Appendix, F.

tremitry, the English set fire to a number of their own tents; and, by the light thus obtained, they were enabled to form their ranks, and repulse the enemy, who were to inconsiderable in number to attempt any thing beyond a surprise. Hence, it may be inferred, that Bruce and his Annandale vassals were not engaged in the affair.

The English army lost no time in following the track of the Scots, who retired towards those districts where the cause of national liberty had gained the greatest ascendancy. On reaching the neighbourhood of Irvine, the English commander found Wallace and the insurgent barons encamped on a well chosen position, and able, from their numbers, to have given battle, had they not been woefully enfeebled by dissension. The feuds among them ran so high, that Sir Richard Lundin, whose services had lately proved so useful, went over in disgust to the enemy, declaring that "he would no longer remain with a party at variance with itself." His example was speedily followed by others, most of whom, as they were the cause of the dissension, could not assign the same reason for their conduct. Pride of birth, and reluctance on the part of the higher barons to submit to the only man among them who had talents* to meet the emergency, have been assigned, with great probability, as the cause of this unfortunate disagreement. The Steward of Scotland; his brother, the Knight of Bonkill; Robert Bruce; William Douglas; Alexander de Lindsay; and Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, with their followers, were among those who submitted to the enemy. The Bishop negotiated the terms on which they were to be admitted to the peace of their "Lord Paramount:"—an acknowledgment of their errors, and hostages for their future obedience, were the basis of the treaty; and a copy of the deed, to which their seals were appended, was sent to Wallace, in expectation of his following their example. The high-minded patriot, however, entertaining views of a more elevated nature, treated this record of their desertion of the liberties of their country with merited disdain.

At the head of his personal adherents, and a large body of the "*liberi firmarii*," or free yeomanry of Scotland, Wallace retired indignantly towards the North. This latter class of men consisted of the tenants, and descendants of tenants, of the crown and church-lands, or those who occupied farms on the demesnes of the barons, for which they paid an equivalent rent in money or produce. They had the privilege of removing to whatever place they might think most desirable, and owed no military service except to the King for the defence of the country. Among them the independence of Scotland always found its most faithful and stubborn supporters. These "*liberi firmarii*," for so they are called in the chartularies, and chamberlains' accounts, were considered so useful from their superior industry, and agricultural knowledge, that during the minority of the Maid of Norway, a sum of money appears to have been

* The military genius of Bruce had not yet developed itself. Nothing can exhibit a greater contrast than the early and the later career of this illustrious individual. The indecision and inertness which mark his first appearance in public life, and the sublimity of heroism to which he afterwards attained, almost entitle him to be considered as the Cimon of Scottish history.

distributed among them as an inducement to remain on the crown lands of Libertoun and Lawrencetown, which they were preparing to leave in consequence of a mortality among their cattle. They formed a striking contrast to the *cottars* or *villegans*, who were entirely subject, both in body and means, to the will of the landholder, and were sold or transferred along with the estate; and could be claimed or brought back to it, if they removed, in the same manner as strayed cattle*. These formed the bulk of the degraded horde who followed the banners of the recreant barons, and whose servility, ignorance, and ferocity, often made them dangerous to the liberties of the country; while the former class, along with the freemen of the boroughs, supplied the materials from which Wallace recruited the ranks of his patriotic battalions.

Aware, from former experience, of the difficulty of bringing Wallace to action if he were not so inclined, Percy and Clifford appear to have withdrawn their forces, satisfied with having detached the aristocracy from his standard; none remaining with our hero save the gallant Sir Andrew Murray, Sir John Graham, and a few of his own personal friends.

But the system which Wallace had organised for the emancipation of his country, was not liable to any material derangement, in consequence of the defection of a few timid and interested barons. It is true, the desertion of such men as Sir William Douglas must have occasioned him considerable regret, being thereby prevented from meeting the enemy openly in the field, with such an equality of force as would have insured success. This feeling, however, did not retard his exertions, but rather stimulated him to fresh undertakings; for we find that he shortly afterwards surprised and garrisoned the Castle of Dunotter. Tyber †, or Tiber, on the banks of the Nith, he also took and destroyed. Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, were either taken or deserted by their garrisons on his approach. Aberdeen, which the enemy set on fire, and then retreated to their ships, afterwards fell into his hands. He then led his troops against the Castle of Dundee, and had already made considerable progress in the siege of that strong-hold, when he was apprised of the advance of an English army under the Earl of Warren, and Cressingham the treasurer.

Edward, dissatisfied with the imperfect measures which had been taken for the suppression of the Scottish revolt, and irritated by the accounts which were daily received of the operations of the insurgents, had despatched peremptory orders for Warren to proceed in person to the North. He also directed his writs to the Bishop and Sheriff of Aberdeenshire, commanding them to adopt strong

* Some curious and authentic information on this subject may be found in vol. I. p. 252—260, of *Tytler's History of Scotland*,—a valuable work at present in the course of publication.

† The vestiges of Tiber Castle, which has been a large building, are to be seen on the banks of the Nith. A small part of the wall next the river remains; fosses are visible; and some intrenchments, where it was most accessible. It is supposed that the barony of Tiber is named from Tiber, or Tiberius. There is a Roman encampment too. The English had a garrison in this castle, in the time of Sir William Wallace, who took it by surprise.—*Stat. Acc. Parish of Penpont*, i. 209.

and effectual means for extinguishing the flame of rebellion within the boundaries of their jurisdiction. They were likewise required to furnish whatever supplies might be wanted by William de Warren* for the defence of the Castle of Urquhart, a strong and extensive fortress on the banks of Loch Ness, of which he was governor. Warren was also ordered to be at his post, and fully prepared to meet any attempt of the enemy.

On learning the movements of the English, Wallace collected those of the burghesses of Dundee who were able to bear arms, and, placing them under the command of their townsmen, Sir Alexander Scrymgeour, enjoined them, at the peril of "lyf and lyme †," to continue the siege. He then retired, with his followers, who were now considerably increased, to watch the motions of the advancing army.

In cases of invasion, a favourite plan adopted by the Scots for the defence of their country was to convey their cattle and other valuables to the more inaccessible districts north of the Forth. By this measure, they not only secured their own supplies, but, by depriving their enemies of the means of subsistence, compelled them to an early retreat as the only resource against the miseries of starvation. On the present occasion the usual precaution was not omitted ‡.

* William de Warren was the son of John, Earl of Warren and Surrey (according to Dugdale), by Alice, daughter of Hugh le Brun, Count of March, uterine sister of Henry the Third. In 5th Edward I, he was sent into Wales on the King's business. In 22nd Edward I, he was employed in pressing ships in the southern and western counties, and in cutting down timber for the use of the Royal Navy, which was to rendezvous at Portsmouth. In the 25th Edward I, he was taken prisoner by the Scots, on which occasion the King committed the care of his lands to his own attorney, William de Berquey. According to Dugdale, he had a claim, through his wife Mary, to the Isle of Man; but Edward having reserved the Island for his own use, it is uncertain what compensation, or, if any, was made. He appears to have allowed her, by the name of *Regina Mannia, quondam uxor Domini William filii Warren*, for her support, the value of two hogsheads of wine, forty quarters wheat, and forty of malt, amounting to 31l. 6s. 8d., but on what account is not stated. William died during his father's lifetime, leaving his wife *encheinte* of John, who succeeded his grandfather in his honours. See *Observations on the Wardrobe of Edward I.*, p. 58, 59.

† *Wyntown*, vol. ii. p. 97, and *Fordun*, lib. xi. cap. xxix.

‡ This system of warfare, from the following effusion, appears also to have met the approbation of the immortal Bruce:—

*Scotica sit guerra pedites, mons, mossica terra:
Silva pro muris sint, arcus, et hasta securis.
Per loca stricta greges munientur. Plana per ignes
Sic inflammantur, ut ab hostibus evacuentur.
Insidia vigiles sint, noctu vociferantes.
Sic malè turbati redient velut ense fugati
Hostes pro certo, sic rege docente Roberto."*

Scottish version, ex edit. Hearn.

On fut suld be all Scottis weire,
Be hyll and mosse thaim self to weire.
Lat wod for wallis be bow and speire,
That innymeis do thaim na dreire.
In strait placis gar keip all stoire,
And byrnen the planen land thaim before:

The success which had attended our hero, since the affair of Irvine, and the formidable character of the well-disciplined force which now adhered to his banner, occasioned a wavering among a number of those barons who had so shamefully submitted to the usurper. Their situation, it must be allowed, had become one of great difficulty. The character of Wallace was stern and decisive. The punishment he inflicted on such offenders, they had reason to know was seldom mitigated by any consideration for the high rank of the parties*; and the English had repeatedly shown, that they were unable to protect the *serviles* from the vengeance of their indignant countrymen. It was therefore with no slight alarm that the party heard of the house of the Bishop of Glasgow being attacked, and pillaged, and his family carried off they knew not whither. The selection which Wallace had made of Wishart, as an example to the others, had no doubt been suggested partly by the ingratitude of that churchman, in deserting the cause, after having been, by means of the patriots, so lately restored to his diocese; and partly from his being so instrumental in the disgraceful negotiation with the enemy. The sacredness attached to his character, as a priest, would speedily disappear before the heinous offence of assisting to detach, in the hour of need, the swords of a Douglas, a Lundin, and a Bruce, from the service of their country. Meanwhile the hostages for their fidelity had been carelessly exacted; and when soon after called for by Warren, (whose remiss conduct had so far incurred the displeasure of Edward, that he sent Brian Fitz Alen to supersede him as lieutenant), he found them more inclined for a new arrangement, than willing to fulfil the terms of the former. They wished, in particular, to introduce some stipulations respecting the liberty of Scotland, a proposal no doubt made for the purpose of allaying in some degree the indignation of their patriotic countrymen. The continued obstinacy, and increasing power of Wallace, was made a pretext for their non-compliance; and they could now with apparent justice decline the final ratification of a deed of treason against the independence of their country, when protection from the consequences was so extremely uncertain.

In this dilemma the Steward and the Earl of Lennox sought permission of Warren to open a communication with the leader of the Scots, under pretext of bringing him over to the interests of Edward. In consequence of this arrangement, these chiefs ventured to visit the Scottish army, which, by this time, had reached the neighbourhood of Stirling, and taken up a strong position

Thanen sall that pass away in haist,
Quhen that they find nathing bot waist.
With wyllis and wakenen of the night,
And mekill noyes maid on hycht.
Thanen sall they turnen with gret affrai,
As thai were chasit with several away.
This is the counsall and intent
Of gud King Robert's testament.

* The gréttast Lordis of our land
Til hym he gert thame be bowand:
Ild thaj, wald thaj, all gert he
Bowsum til hys Byddyng be:
And til hys Byddyng qwhay war noucht bownd
He tuk, and put thame in Presownd.

Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 96.

† *Farnis ense* MSS. Cupr. and Perth.—See *Fordun*, vol. ii. p. 232. [Edin. Ed. 1775.]

near the bridge, where it appeared determined to wait the approach of the English. The retiring population had left little behind them that could be useful to the enemy; all their cattle and provisions being now secured in the rear of the protecting columns of their countrymen. This rendered the position of Wallace still more valuable, prepared, as he was, in the event of a defeat, to fall back to certain supplies, while his opponents would be still farther removed from their resources.

But if feuds had rendered the Scots inert and submissive to the enemy at Irvine, the councils of the English were now, in their turn, distracted from the same cause. The mind of Warren appeared more occupied in brooding over his late disgrace, than in attending to the details of the campaign; while Cressingham*, a haughty, ambitious, and imperious churchman, assumed additional importance on learning that his colleague had incurred the royal displeasure. Conflicting measures, supported by querulous and acrimonious language, engendered a dangerous spirit of animosity between them. Cressingham, on the plea of economy, ordered the disbanding of a body of eight thousand foot and three hundred cavalry, commanded by Lord Henry Percy, a force which Warren wished to retain as a reserve; and during the altercations which this occasioned, the communications of the Steward and the Earl of Lennox with the Scottish camp were injudiciously allowed to continue.

On the arrival, however, of the English in front of the position occupied by the Scots, those noblemen returned. With well feigned displeasure they announced their inability to make any pacific impression on Wallace and his followers; and then took their leave, for the alleged purpose of bringing up a number of their mounted vassals to join the English, who were to defile along the bridge in the morning.

Five thousand foot and a body of Welsh archers had passed the bridge before Warren had left his bed†. Whether this sluggishness on the part of the English general arose from indisposition or chagrin, is not explicitly stated. The troops, however, on finding that they were not supported by the rest of the army, returned to their station. Warren, who arose about an hour after,—feeling, perhaps, reluctant to attack the Scots in their present position, and not deeming it prudent to calculate on the recurrence of the same mistake which had given him so easy a victory at Dunbar,—despatched two friars to make a last attempt at pacification.

The answer returned was evidently intended to exasperate the English, and bring them on headlong to the fray. After a bold declaration of independence, a taunting allusion was made to the conquerors of England. "We came not here," said the intrepid assertor of Scotland's rights, "to negotiate, but to fight; and were even your masters to come and attack us, we are ready to meet them at our swords' point, and show them that our

country is free." Enraged at this stern and provoking defiance, the English became clamorous to be led on.

A council of war being called, it was proposed by Cressingham that the army should instantly cross the river and attack the Scots. In this he was opposed by Sir Richard Lundin, who pointed out the many difficulties they would have to encounter in attempting to defile along a bridge, so narrow, in presence of so wary an enemy; and offered to guide them to a ford not far distant, where they could pass with less hazard. Cressingham,—either displeased at being contradicted,—or not placing full reliance on the fidelity of Lundin, who had but recently joined the English, told Warren,—who appeared to hesitate, that, as treasurer of the King of England, he (Cressingham) could not be answerable for squandering the money of his master in protracted warfare with a handful of enemies, who,—in order to be defeated, had only to be attacked, and would always be formidable,—provided they were never brought to an engagement. Stung by the reproach conveyed in these remarks, Warren gave orders for the troops to move onwards.

Sir Marmaduke Twenge, a knight belonging to the North-Riding of Yorkshire, of much experience and distinguished personal prowess, assisted Cressingham in leading the van. When nearly one half of the English had cleared the bridge without opposition, an attempt was made to dislodge the Scots from the ground they had chosen; and for that purpose, Sir Marmaduke rather impatiently charged up-hill with a body of heavy-armed cavalry. The consequence was, however, fatal to the assailants, as the enemy, from their vantage-ground, drove them headlong before them with their long spears. In the mean time, the communication between the bridge and the van of the English army was cut off by a masterly movement of a division of the Scots, who afterwards kept up such an incessant discharge of arrows, darts*, "gavelocks," and other missiles, as completely interrupted the progress of the enemy. Wallace contemplated, for a moment, the success of his plan, and instantly rushed down to the attack with an impetuosity which the scarcely formed battalions of the English were ill prepared to withstand. Giving way to the shock, they fell into irretrievable confusion, while the repeated charges of the compact bodies of the Scottish spearmen were fast covering the ground with the splendid wreck of the chivalry of England. The scene now became animating beyond measure; and many of those who had defended the bridge forsook their companions to join in the desperate *mêlée*. The passage being thus left comparatively open, the royal standard of England, displaying "Three gold leopards courant, set on red," was advanced to the cry of—"For God and St. George!" attended by a strong body of knights, who, with their triangular shields, defending themselves from the missiles which still showered thick upon the bridge, rushed forward to aid their fellow-combatants. The banner of Warren next appeared, *chequered with gold and azure*, and followed by his numerous vassals. The day, however, was too far gone to be retrieved, even by this powerful

* See Appendix G.

† Langtoft partly attributes the loss of this battle to the indolence of the English general. The return of so considerable a body of troops, on account of their not being supported by the rest of the army, would no doubt encourage the Scots, and perhaps suggested to their leader the admirable manœuvre which he afterwards put in practice.

* Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 297.

assistance. Finding no room to form, they only increased the confusion, and swelled the slaughter made by the Scottish spearmen, before whose steady and overwhelming charges thousands were either borne down or driven into the river.

While Warren, with inexpressible anxiety, beheld from the opposite bank the destruction of the flower of his army, the Steward of Scotland and the Earl of Lennox were seen approaching with a strong body of horse; but, as might be expected, instead of joining the English, they assisted their countrymen in pursuing and killing those who were attempting to save themselves. Sir Marmaduke Twenge gallantly cut his way to the bridge, and escaped.*

The panic now became general, and the face of the country was covered with a confused mass of terrified fugitives, hurrying on to avoid the swords of their conquerors, and increasing, as they fled, the disorder of their retreat, by throwing away their arms and their standards, in order to facilitate their flight.

Wallace having crossed the ford alluded to by Lunnin, the pursuit was followed up with the most destructive perseverance. The day of retribution had arrived;—the butcheries of Berwick, the carnage of Dunbar, with a long list of national indignities and personal sufferings had now to be atoned for. Conscious of the provocation which had roused to frenzy the vengeance of an infuriated people, Warren turned with dismay from the scene of havoc, leaving twenty thousand of his soldiers to manure the fields of those they had so lately oppressed. Cressingham, the most detested of all the tools of Edward, was among the number of the slain;—and when Wallace came up, a party were employed in flaying the body. According to the MS. Chronicle of Lanercost, he is said to have ordered only as much of the skin to be taken off as would make a sword-belt; and his men, perhaps, imitating his example, might have appropriated the rest. This, says a respectable author †, is no doubt the origin of the tale told by Abercromby and some other historians, of the Scots having used it as girths to their horses. An order of this kind, given in the heat of the pursuit, was perhaps never thought of afterwards; at least, we have no account of Wallace ever wearing such an appendage. The circumstance, however, shows

* This man, though a brave soldier, it seems, was no swimmer. Being advised by some of his companions to throw himself into the river, he replied, "It shall never be said of me, that I did voluntarily drown myself. God forbid, that such a dishonour should fall upon me, or any Englishman;" and, setting spurs to his horse, rushed into the thick of the battle, killing many of his opponents, and was fast making his way to the bridge, when he was called to by his nephew, who was wounded, to save him. "Get up and follow me," was the answer. "Alas! I am weak, and cannot," returned the other. Sir Marmaduke's squire dismounted, and placed him behind his uncle, who brought him off in safety to Stirling Castle, where they both found refuge.

Notwithstanding this unfortunate expedition, Sir Marmaduke returned the following year to the Scottish wars. He was also engaged 29th and 32nd Edw. I. and 1st Edw. II., and died 16th Edw. II., leaving issue by Isabel, his wife, William, his son and heir. He himself succeeded Robert de Twenge, to Cleveland and other possessions in the North of Yorkshire.—*Dugdale.*

† P. F. Tytler, Esq.

the deep-rooted detestation with which the individual was regarded.

Warren, who fled rapidly to Berwick, was most probably, like another English general of more modern times, the first herald of his own discomfiture. The consternation which his disaster occasioned among his countrymen in Scotland was so great, that few or none would venture to wait the approach of the enemy; but abandoning their strongholds, they hurried southward with the greatest precipitation, justly conceiving that the terms they were likely to obtain from one who followed up his victories with so much energy, were hardly worth staying for. The loss on the part of the Scots was comparatively small; none of note having fallen, save the brave Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell*.

In this manner was Scotland once more restored to that liberty of which she had been so unjustly deprived. Nor was the benefit conferred on the country less than the glory which redounded to her gallant liberator. The brilliant and decisive victory at Stirling Bridge was gained on the 11th September, 1297, exactly twelve months and eleven days from the return of Edward to Berwick, after what he conceived to be the final subjugation of the kingdom.

The state of Scotland in the early part of 1297, was such as might well have extinguished the ardour of any mind possessed of less energy than that of Wallace. He saw his country humbled and debased at the feet of a tyrant, whose talents and power forbade every hope of emancipation, while the boldest of her nobles dared not express a wish to be free. His own indignant feelings blazed forth, and, with his kindling enthusiasm, he breathed into his torpid and enslaved countrymen, the breath as it were of a new existence. The regenerating influence of his heroic example was quickly caught by those whose bosoms still beat responsive to the call of honour; and in the short space we have mentioned, those banners which had lately waved over hecatombs of butchered Scots, and had been paraded through the land with all the triumphant arrogance of conquest, were now trampled under foot, and the colossal power by which they were sustained, overthrown before the virtuous indignation of a people determined to be free. When we contemplate the might and the resources of Edward, who, in addition to those of his own kingdom, had Ireland, Wales, and his continental possessions to depend upon; it is impossible not to feel impressed with admiration at the greatness of that mind, which, with the fractions of a divided and dispirited people, could form the idea of braving a force so overwhelming: but

* Among those who distinguished themselves in this memorable engagement, there is reason to believe that the burghesses of Stirling, and the tenants of the Abbeylands at Cambuskenneth, were particularly active; and it is supposed, that, from their behaviour on this occasion, they were allowed to assume an allusion to the battle in the town's seal, which, after the date of the above transaction, displayed on the obverse a bridge, composed of seven arches; in the centre appeared a crucifix, on the south side of which stand three soldiers with bows (the national weapon of the English), endeavouring to force the passage, and on the north side are the same number of soldiers, armed with spears, the characteristic weapon of the Scots. The legend is, "*Hic armis Bruti Scoti stant, hic cruce tuti.*"

when we find those plans which he had conceived in the deep recesses of his woodland retreats, not only perseveringly carried on against a tide of adverse circumstances—in defiance of the aristocracy of his own country, and the opposition of secret and avowed enemies—it may with truth be said, that, however highly he may have been extolled, a title of his greatness has not yet been appreciated. Much has been said of romance being mixed up with the accounts given of him; but it would be difficult for any of those who delight in nibbling at great names, to point out any tradition respecting Wallace, sufficiently romantic to outstrip the simple facts that stand recorded of him in the authentic annals of British history.

Deserted by the barons at a time when he conceived he had united in the sacred cause all that was noble, and all that was high-minded in the land, it required no common intrepidity to bear up against their heartless and unseemly defection; and to recruit his ranks after so serious a diminution, required talents of the highest order, and exertions beyond the reach of ordinary men. This, however, he not only accomplished, but also recovered a number of fortresses,—drove the enemy from the North, and, with a numerous and gallant army, sat down in a well-chosen position, to await the advance of the legions of England,—all within two months of the disgraceful negotiation at Irvine.

After a victory achieved in the face of difficulties so formidable, with what feelings must the hero of Stirling Bridge and the Scottish aristocracy have regarded each other! The mighty force of him whom they had acknowledged as their Lord Paramount, was now broken and dispersed before the superior valour and steadiness of one whom they had so rashly abandoned. In the rich harvest of laurels which had been acquired, they had excluded themselves from all participation; and, though conscious that they could not lay claim to a single leaf, they were sensible that the heroism of their late companions would soon be emblazoned through every country in Europe; while they had the mortification to reflect, that the tale of their own pusillanimous submission, would be held up as a counterpart to the gallantry of those friends whom they had so shamefully forsaken in the road to immortality.

CHAPTER XII.

WALLACE APPOINTED GUARDIAN OF THE KINGDOM—
INVADES ENGLAND—INROAD OF DE CLIFFORD ON
THE SOUTH OF SCOTLAND.

STIRLING CASTLE capitulated immediately after the battle, and Sir Marmaduke Twenge*, who had taken shelter in it, was sent prisoner to Dumbarton. The surrender of the castle of Dundee followed; and, with the exception of the garrisons

* Langtoft tells an improbable story of the Scots having induced him to surrender, by a promise of returning to the allegiance of Edward. Twenge must have been a noted simpleton indeed, if he could have been so easily imposed upon.—See *Langtoft*, vol. ii. p. 300.

remaining in Roxburgh, Berwick, and Dunbar, Scotland was once more completely cleared of her invaders. These places, with the exception of the last, were also given up, as soon as they were summoned by the leaders of the Scottish army; and about this time, at a meeting held in the Forest-kirk, Selkirkshire, Wallace was elected, or declared Regent of Scotland, in the name of King John; the appointment being sanctioned by the presence of the Earl of Lennox, Sir William Douglas, and a number of the most powerful among the nobility.

Thus armed with legitimate authority, the newly appointed Guardian began to exercise it in the manner that he conceived would be most conducive to the general interest and welfare of the country. He had often experienced the difficulties which feudal vassalage presented to his efforts in behalf of the national independence. The numerous serfs who were retained in bondage by the more powerful barons, could be either restrained from taking up arms, or withdrawn at the caprice of their masters, even when their services were of the greatest importance. A power so dangerous in the hands of a party comparatively small, had been productive of the most ruinous consequences. To reform a system pregnant with mischief, and one at the same time so much in favour with the prejudices of the age, required wisdom and energy, such as he possessed. Aware of the opposition which an open and declared attempt to emancipate the *adscripti glebae* would create,—he attacked the system in the only part where it appeared to be vulnerable. Having divided the country into districts, he caused a muster-roll to be made out, containing the names of all who were capable of bearing arms between the ages of sixteen and sixty. These he divided and subdivided in a manner peculiarly his own. Over every four men he appointed a fifth; over every nine, a tenth; over every nineteen, a twentieth; and thus continued the gradation of rank till it reached the chiliarch, or commander of a thousand*. In the different parishes, gibbets were also erected to enforce obedience to these regulations; and whoever refused to appear for the defence of his country when summoned, was hung up as an example to others. Those barons who interposed their authority to prevent their vassals from joining the ranks of the patriots, were either punished with imprisonment, or confiscation of property.

Though the active and restless mind of Wallace may now seem to have had full employment in the various duties of his office,—yet, amidst the multiplicity of objects of internal policy which occupied his time, the resuscitation of the foreign trade of the kingdom appears to have had its proper share of his attention. The advantage which Scotland derived from her foreign commercial intercourse, as has been already stated, was too important to be soon forgotten; and the heroic and faithful conduct of the Flemings at the siege of Berwick, was too recent not to be dwelt on with grateful remembrance. In order, therefore, to renew the connection with those useful strangers, accredited persons appear to have been despatched with letters to the free towns of Hamburg and Lubeck †.

* *Fordun à Goodall*, vol. ii. p. 170.

† See Appendix, H.

Having provided for the necessary supplies of men, the Guardian determined on retaliating the injuries Scotland had sustained at the hands of her late oppressors. Meanwhile a famine,—the natural consequence of the neglect of agriculture during the unsettled state of the country, had begun to make its appearance; and was soon followed by a pestilence,—occasioned, doubtless, by the multitude of putrid carcases which remained, partially at least, if not altogether, exposed after the recent carnage. To alleviate, as far as possible, the misery consequent on those dreaded calamities, he commanded all the standing crops to be carefully gathered in, and stored up in barns and yards under proper regulations, to meet the exigencies of the country during winter. In order, at the same time, to concentrate the strength and resources of the country, and establish that unanimity so necessary for its defence, he summoned all the vassals of the Scottish crown to meet him at Perth. From this parliament, which was pretty numerously attended, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, thought proper to absent himself. The great power and military experience of this baron, joined to the circumstance of his occupying a fortress which was considered as the key of the eastern part of the kingdom, made it an object of some importance that his allegiance should be unquestionable. An early partisan of Edward, he had as yet shown no disposition to relinquish his unnatural connection with the enemy. When the subject of his absence came, therefore, to be discussed before the Scottish nobles, they unanimously resolved on proceeding against him without delay. Wallace, however, proposed the more gentle expedient of remonstrance, before having recourse to extremities; and a deputation was accordingly sent, to request his attendance as a Scottish peer, in order to take part in the government of the country, and to aid, with his counsel and his arms, in the establishment of the national independence. Possessed of large dominions in England, as well as an extensive inheritance in Scotland, this Earl felt little inclination to incur the displeasure of his Lord Paramount in the South, by a too ready accession to the cause of liberty in the North; and he accordingly returned a haughty and scornful answer, no way calculated to allay the prejudice which his former contemptuous behaviour had excited against him. As soon, therefore, as the various objects which had engaged the attention of the parliament were disposed of, Wallace proceeded, with a select body of 400 men, to reduce the turbulent chieftain. A little to the east of Dunbar, the Guardian found the Earl awaiting his approach at the head of 900 followers; and a desperate conflict immediately commenced, which ended in the flight of Patrick, who escaped to England*. The castle of Dunbar was in consequence surrendered to the victor, who gave it in charge to Sir Christopher Seton, with a competent garrison for its defence.

1297. Early in October a proclamation was issued for every one capable of bearing arms to appear on the moor of Roslin. An immense multitude attended. The most vigorous and the best equipped were then selected; and having thus embodied an efficient, numerous, and gallant army, Wallace excited their ardour by a short and ani-

ating address, in which he told them, that, united as they were, with only one glorious object in view, they had nothing but victory to expect,—their country had been stripped of its wealth by their late oppressors, and it was now their duty and interest to recover it, and punish the aggressors. The army* then proceeded in high spirits towards the English frontier,—their leader rightly judging, that, by withdrawing so many men, a larger quantity of provisions would remain for those left behind; and by adopting this measure, his soldiers also, while they escaped from the contagion which had appeared in Scotland, would be moreover rewarded for their past labours, by the riches they would find in the more flourishing regions of the South; which, having enjoyed a long interval of peace, might be conceived to be overflowing with that description of wealth most desirable in the estimation of the needy adventurers of the North;—and the latter, no doubt, as they drove home their lowing and bleating prey from the rich pastures of Durham and the neighbouring counties, considered that they were merely removing their own property, of which they had been unjustly deprived by the tyranny of the English.

In this expedition, Wallace divided the command of the army with Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, the promising son of the brave Sir Andrew, who fell in the late engagement. This honour he may have thought due to the patriotic conduct of the father, in adhering to the fortunes of his country, amidst the general defection of the Scottish barons. And—as it might tend to give the *lie* to those reports which began to be circulated of an intention to aggrandize himself at the expense of the aristocracy,—the appointment was evidently a measure of judicious and honourable policy.

On the approach of the Scottish army, the inhabitants of Northumberland deserted their dwellings, and fled to Newcastle, carrying with them their wives and children, their cattle and household stuff. The Guardian, however, for a short time delayed his advance; and having received notice that several of the burghesses of Aberdeen, and others in that quarter, had disobeyed his summons to appear at Roslin, he hurried back to the North, where, on apprehending the parties, those whose excuses were inadmissible, he ordered for immediate execution. Hastily rejoining his forces, he crossed the Border, and succeeded in surprising the English, who, thinking the storm had blown over, were returned to their homes.

The Scots now commenced their destructive reprisals, by wasting with fire and sword the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland. In this work of devastation they were assisted by Robert de Ros of Werk, a great northern baron, who, as we have already observed, had deserted the standard of Edward in 1295. It is presumed that the same influence which formerly seduced him from his loyalty, still existed; and it is a pity that the name of the lady who made so patriotic a use of her charms, has not been preserved by the historians of her country.

The former inroads of the Scots were trifling,

* Of this army the Campbells and M'Gregors formed a part, and no doubt a number of the Perthshire clans were included.

* See Appendix, I.

compared with the wide-spreading desolation which now marked their career. The havoc they made, and the spoils they collected, are feelingly dwelt on by the English writers of the day. Langtoft thus expresses himself :—

“ To werre than ros thei eft, tille God thei mad a vowe,
That no thing suld be left, that myght to Ingland prowre,
Mercy suld none haue, tille alle thei suld do wo,
Kirke suld no man saue, bot brenne ther in & slo.
In Northumberland ther first thel bigan,
& alle that com tille hande, they slouh and ouer ran
To Flandres tille Edward tithinges men him sent,
That Scottis com in hard, the North is nere alle Brent,
& more salle zit be lorn, bot if we haf scouure.
Nouht standes tham biforn, toun, castelle ne toure.”

Vol. ii. p. 298, 299.

Hemingford says, “At this time the praise of God was not heard in any church or monastery through the whole country, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to the Gates of Carlisle; for the monks and canons regular, and other priests who were ministers of the Lord, fled with the whole people from the face of the enemy; nor was there any to oppose them, except now and then a few English who belonged to the castle of Alnwick, who ventured from their strongholds, and slew some stragglers. But these were but slight successes; and the Scots roved over the country* from the Feast of St. Luke to St. Martin's day, inflicting on it all the miseries of rapine and bloodshed †.”

* Fordun states, that the Scots army remained in England from All Saints day till Christmas, 31st October till 25th December. Wyntown also agrees with him, and thus expresses himself on the subject.

“ And syne frá the Alhalowmes
In Yngland till Yhule he bydand wes.
All Allyrdáyle as man of Were
That tyme he brynt wyth his Powere :
And wyth gret Prayis owt of that Land,
Come eftyer the Yhule in-til Scotland.”

Wyntown, B. viii. c. 13. v. 177—182.

† In the invasion of England, one Grimesby acted as guide to the Scottish army. This person we have alluded to at page 19, as carrying the banner of St. John of Beverley, in the army of Edward. He was afterwards rewarded by the Usurper with the promise of the first benefice of twenty marks or pounds which should become vacant in Scotland. This prospect of preferment, however, did not prevent him from joining the liberator of his country. He appears to have been long in the service of England, and was most probably one of those 30,000 Scots who were sent by Alexander III. to the assistance of Henry III., when opposed by his barons. Though it is uncertain if he accompanied Edward to the Holy Land, it is however pretty evident that he attended him in his various expeditions to France; and, in his character of pursuivant, he obtained a very intimate acquaintance with the localities of that country, as well as of England. His intimate knowledge of the latter rendered his services of much importance to his countrymen. Henry represents him as a steady and useful adherent to Wallace, and describes him to be of great stature, and as having acquired among the English the name of Grimesby, on account of his grim or stern visage. This, however, is more fanciful than correct. *Grimesby* is of Danish origin, and though among the Scots he was called Jop, his real name appears to have been Gilbert Grimesby. He acted as herald, as well as guide; and often marshalled the Scottish battalions on the eve of battle.

The Guardian having summoned in all his plundering parties, and concentrated his army, directed his march towards Carlisle. The sack of this city would have been most desirable to the invaders, not only on account of its riches, but also as in some measure enabling them to avenge the injuries inflicted upon Berwick. The place, however, was strongly fortified; and the Scots not being provided with a battering train, they had to content themselves with sending a summons; which, being disregarded by the garrison, they passed on, and laid waste Cumberland and Allerdale, from Inglewood Forest to Derwentwater and Cocker-mouth. Winter now advanced:—the frost set in with uncommon severity,—and the Scots, who had created a desert around them, began also to dread the miseries of famine, as well as the inclemency of the season. Their encampments could now be traced by the frozen bodies of those who had perished during the night from the intensity of the cold. Under these circumstances, Wallace gave orders for their return to Scotland.

On their reaching Hexceldsham*, the monastery of which had been plundered during their advance, the following singular scene is said by Hemingford to have occurred. Three monks, all who had the courage to remain, were observed in a small chapel. Thinking that the danger was over, they had forsaken their concealments, and were endeavouring to repair the damages of the late visitation, when, in the midst of their labours, they discovered the Scottish army returning, and fled in dismay to the oratory. The soldiers, however, with their long spears, were soon among them; and brandishing their weapons, commanded them, at their peril, to give up the treasures of the monastery. “Alas!” said one of the monks, “it is but a short time since you yourselves have seized our whole property, and you know best where it now is.” At this juncture Wallace entered, and commanding his soldiers to be silent, requested one of the monks to perform mass: he obeyed, and the Guardian and his attendants heard the service with becoming reverence. When the elevation of the host was about to take place, Wallace retired for a moment to lay aside his helmet and arms. Instantly the avarice and ferocity of the soldiers broke out. They pressed upon the priest, snatched the cup from the high altar, tore away the ornaments and sacred vestments, and even stole the book which contained the ceremony. When their leader returned, he found the priest in fear and horror at the sacrilege. Wallace, indignant at such conduct, gave orders that the villains should be searched for, and put to death. In the mean time, he took the monks under his own special protection.

As some atonement for the outrage committed, the Guardian granted to the monks of Hexceldsham a charter of protection for twelve months, from the 7th November, 1297 †, by which their lives and property were held sacred. “The prohibition,” says Lord Hailes, “to slay any ecclesiastic of the monastery of Hexceldsham, shows that the Scots had been guilty of uncommon barbarities.” Had his Lordship said that the conduct of the Scots was merely an humble imitation of the example which the English had set th

* Hexham.

† See Appen-

their "Good Friday" *revelries* at the sack of Berwick, he would have been nearer the truth. We find no such restraint put upon the English soldiery, who were allowed to murder their lay and clerical victims indiscriminately; not even excepting nuns, whose sex, independent of every other consideration, ought to have been their protection. If a shadow of humanity can be discovered in the mode of warfare carried on by the two nations, it certainly belongs of right to those who published a prohibition of such enormities. In the invasion by the Scots in 1296, there is no charge brought against them of killing priests. Langtoft says, vol. ii. p. 273, that in coming to Hexham and Leynertofte, they merely chased out the canons, and took away their goods. Their subsequent severity must therefore have been forced upon them by their enemies.

English writers have lamented, with eloquence and pathos, the cruelties exercised in this invasion; and from their silence respecting the atrocities of their own countrymen, have endeavoured to fix the stain of exclusive barbarity on the arms of Scotland. This is all natural enough, and quite consistent with that national prejudice by which the people of every country are more or less imbued; but it is painfully mortifying, when we find Scotchmen of acknowledged talent and penetration forgetting what is due to themselves and to their country; and from a weak fear of being thought illiberal, following humbly in the train of such authors, and echoing their reflections; or favouringly assenting to their *ex parte* statements, in place of standing forward and showing the world, that their countrymen, in resorting to such severities, merely exercised a system of fair retaliation, for the purpose of repressing enormities of the deepest dye, committed in support of an aggression of the most unparalleled baseness.

During the time the Scottish army was engaged in ravaging the northern counties of England, Robert de Clifford, at the head of one hundred men-at-arms, and twenty thousand foot, left Carlisle, and proceeded to plunder in Scotland. His success, however, was not great, having killed three hundred and eight Scots, burned two villages, and taken a few prisoners, with whom he returned home about Christmas.

Whilst the Guardian was thus successfully prosecuting the cause of his country's independence, his efforts, at the same time, were becoming daily more beneficial to the real liberties of the very people to whom he was opposed. Elated, first by the conquest of Wales, and afterwards by that of Scotland, Edward had already begun to stretch forth the iron rod of oppression over the legitimate subjects of his own native kingdom; and, trusting to the assistance he should receive from the barons of his newly acquired conquests, who, he might naturally suppose would not be found reluctant to act as instruments in holding their late conquerors in subjection, he assumed, towards the nobles of England, an air of haughty superiority that awakened their jealousy, and alarmed their fears. But as the investigation of this subject would interrupt the course of our narrative, we will reserve it till the end of the volume*.

* See Appendix, L.

CHAPTER XIII.

WALLACE RETURNS TO SCOTLAND—ENVIED BY THE NOBILITY—EDWARD LANDS IN ENGLAND—WALLACE MEETS HIS ARMY AT STANMORE—BATTLE OF BLACK-IRONSIDE—LEGALITY OF WALLACE'S REGENCY—EDWARD INVADES SCOTLAND—TREACHERY OF TWO SCOTTISH NOBLEMEN.

DURING the time that Wallace remained in England, his army was occasionally renewed; for as soon as the quota of men belonging to one clan or parish had collected a sufficient share of booty, they were allowed to retire and secure it in the North, while their places were supplied by fresh hordes of not less hungry adventurers. By such means the spoil of England became pretty equally divided throughout the several districts of Scotland, and the inhabitants began to experience the benefits of returning plenty. Having, in this manner, enriched his own country at the expense of her enemies, the intrepid Guardian returned—poor it is true, in wealth, but rich in fame—to behold the prosperity he had so gallantly achieved*. This expedition, however, though it had increased his reputation among the common people, failed not to awaken the envy of the nobles, who could ill brook the popularity of one whose actions had thrown them so much into the shade; and his praise, which they heard on all sides, sounded in their ears like so many reproaches against themselves, who, possessing wealth and power, either could not, or from treachery would not, do what he, so much their inferior in wealth and influence, had taken in hand and finished, with glory to himself and honour to the country. Hence the private heartburnings which arose among these noblemen, whose consciences whispered that they had been either traitors or sluggards when the liberty of their country was at stake.

1298. In the mean time, Edward having complied with the demands of his subjects, the Barons of England collected an army, and advanced towards the Border. On the 14th March, the King himself landed at Sandwich, and instantly summoned the Scottish barons to a Parliament at York. According to Abercromby, he also ad-

* It is probable that some of our readers may be displeased with our passing over the interview which Wallace is said to have had with Queen Margaret, during the time his army was encamped in the north of England; but we always wish to have some authority for what we commit to our pages; and as we can find nothing in support of it, either in English or Scottish records, we are inclined to look upon it as a minstrel's tale, introduced for the purpose of effect. The subject excited the inquiries of the learned Dr. Jamieson, who has been at considerable pains to ascertain whether or not such an interview actually took place; and all his researches tend rather to throw discredit on the affair, in addition to the doubt which naturally arises from the silence of history. Henry, in whose work the tale is only to be found, represents Edward as being then in Britain, while it is agreed on all hands that he was, at the time, prosecuting the war in Flanders. Though the Minstrel be a favourite with us, still we like to see his statements corroborated; and we conceive, that the English Queen appearing in the Scottish camp in the manner he describes, was a circumstance too flattering to the national pride of the Scots, to be left to the pen of one solitary narrator.

dressed letters to the Guardian, and in a strain more impassioned than courteous, upbraided him for his audacity in disturbing the tranquillity of Scotland, and in presuming afterwards to invade England,—a line of conduct which, he observed, would not have been ventured upon, had he (Edward) been in the country; and concluded, by commanding Wallace to redeem his errors by an immediate submission to his authority. To these letters the Guardian replied, that in availing himself of the absence of Edward, in order to regain the liberty of his country, he had done no more than his duty, and that the baseness lay with the English monarch in taking advantage of the disunion of a free people to enslave them. As to invading England, he had done so in order to indemnify Scotland for the injuries she had so unjustly sustained; and in respect to submission, as he intended soon to be in England again, he would then give him his answer in person.

The active and undaunted Guardian was instantly at the heels of his messenger, and on the 20th of March came in sight of the English army at Stanmore. Scottish historians say, that Edward's force though much superior to that of Wallace, was composed chiefly of raw militia hastily raised, few or none of his veterans having been yet landed, and that the English monarch, struck with the appearance and admirable discipline of the Scots, and, unwilling to risk his fame in a conflict so doubtful,—when about five hundred paces from the enemy, turned his banners and marched off the field. Wallace, afraid of an ambush, restrained his soldiers from the pursuit, and repressed their ardour by telling them, that the victory they had already gained was the more glorious, as it was got without blood and against the first captain of the age, at the head of an army which, to all human appearance, was able, from its numbers, to have swallowed them up; concluding his address, by ordering thanksgivings to Heaven for so great an interposition in their favour.

This account, however, is not corroborated by English historians. They allege that the King was not present; and in this they are certainly in the right. Edward, on his arrival in England, was detained by matters of importance, in such a manner as to render his presence at Stanmore on the 20th March utterly impossible. That the Scots may have come in sight of the English army on the borders, is not at all unlikely; or that the latter should decline risking a general engagement, after their late reverses, without the presence of their King, who was daily expected, is extremely probable. It may also be observed, that the charters of their rights, though granted at Ghent, had not as yet been confirmed in England. The conduct of the English leaders, under such circumstances, may be considered as highly prudent and judicious.

But if the Scots were disappointed in *not* coming to blows with their enemies at Stanmore, it was not long before they had an opportunity of trying the mettle of their swords. Aymer, or Aldomer de Vallance, son of the Earl Pembroke, a youth at that time of eighteen years, had raised himself high in the estimation of Edward, by the ready manner in which he accompanied him to Flanders. The abilities and discretion, which he soon displayed, obtained for him so much of the confidence

of his master, that he was employed in various important matters of state. On the truce with France being concluded—for the furtherance of which he was appointed a commissioner—Edward, it appears, had ordered him to sail for Scotland with the force under his command, for the purpose of co-operating in the invasion which he meditated on his arrival in England. Various circumstances contributed to retard the projected attempt; and it was not till Midsummer that Aldomer and Sir John Seward (a recreant Scot, son of the traitor of Dunbar) landed in Fife with a considerable body of troops, and began to lay waste the country. Their destructive operations, however, were soon interrupted by the arrival of Wallace and his Scots, who fell upon them in the extensive forest of Blackironside, and, after an obstinate conflict, the invaders were defeated with the loss of 1,580 men. This engagement, which is sometimes called the Battle of Dilleceaw, was fought on the 12th June. The loss of the Scots was comparatively trifling; and, with the exception of Sir Duncan Balfour, Sheriff of Fife, and, according to some, Sir Christopher Seton*, few, if any, of note, were killed.—Sir John Graham being only wounded. Sir John Ramsay of Auchterhouse, with Squires Guthrie and Bisset†, are particularly mentioned as having distinguished themselves in this brilliant encounter.

On his return to Scotland, after the affair at Stanmore, Wallace applied himself to rectify the abuses and disorders which had arisen from the disorganized state of the country. For this purpose, he seems to have made a tour through the kingdom, and on 29th March we find him presiding in an assembly of the Barons at Torphichen. At this assembly, which was most probably held in the preceptory of the Templars, various meritorious individuals were rewarded for their patriotic exertions in the cause of independence. Among these, Alexander Scrymgeour had the constabulary of Dundee conferred upon him *and his heirs, for his faithful aid in bearing the Royal Banner of Scot-*

* See Appendix, M.

† Respecting these two meritorious individuals, few particulars appear to be known. Guthrie is said to have been the ancestor of the Guthries of that Ilk, and was frequently employed as the confidential agent of his countrymen.

Bisset is also mentioned as the progenitor of the Bissets of that Ilk; and according to Henry, he was killed on this occasion by the hand of Seward, who, in his turn, was cut down by Wallace. By the chamberlain's accounts it appears, that one John Bisset, a poor monk of Haddington, received from King Robert Bruce a pension of 20s. per annum for clothing. Whether this was given in consequence of any relationship to the gallant patriot of that name, is not stated.

The battle of Blackironside appears to have been a protracted forest-fight for the greater part of the day; and the heat of the weather induced the combatants at times, as if by mutual consent, to pause amid the deadly strife.

On one of those occasions, Wallace it is said unclasped the helmet of a dead Englishman, and, repairing to a neighbouring fountain, still unstained with the carnage of the day, he dipped it into the stream, and continued to carry the water along the ranks of his fainting soldiers. When he had in this manner allayed their thirst, he afterwards partook himself; and declared, that the cooling beverage was more grateful to his palate, than the richest wines he had ever tasted. The effect which this mark of attention produced on the minds of his followers, was evinced by the vigour they displayed in the charge which they soon afterwards made on the enemy.

land, which service he actually performs." This document appears to have been made with the consent and approbation of the Scottish nobility, and is dated 29th March, 1293*.

Some authors assert, that the election of Wallace to the Guardianship took place after his return from the invasion of England. Lord Hailes says, he assumed the title of Guardian subsequent to that event. This we consider extremely improbable; as the degree of popularity he had attained among his countrymen would have certainly anticipated any assumption on the part of their deliverer. Although Abercromby be not a first-rate authority, we conceive that he is right in placing the election before the advance of Wallace to the south. The immense preparations necessary for an invasion of England, required the sanction of something like legitimate authority to carry it into effect; and the measures which he resorted to for the good of the country, immediately posterior to

* For the satisfaction of the reader, we will here give the charter referred to, as it is preserved in *Anderson's Diplomata et Numismata Scotiae* (Edin. 1739)—from the original at that time in the possession of Mr. David Watson, writer, Edinburgh.

CHARTA

Domini Gulielmi Wallace, Custodis Scotiae, nomine Johannis Balliol Regis, cum sigillo ejusdem Johannis.

"Willelmus Walys miles, Custos Regni Socie, et Ductor exercituum ejusdem, nomine preclari Principis Domini Johannis, Dei Gracia Regis Socie illustris, de consensu communitatis ejusdem Regni. Omnibus probis hominibus dicti Regni ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, eternam in Domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra, nos, nomine predicti Domini nostri Regis Socie, per consensum et assensum magnatum dicti regni, dedisse et concessisse, ac ipsas donationem et concessionem presentis carta confirmasse Alexandro dicto Skirmischur sex marcas terre in territorio de Dunde, scilicet, terram illam que vocatur campus superior, prope villam de Dunde ex parte boreali, cum acris illis in campo occidentali que ad partem regiam spectare solebant prope villam de Dunde ex parte occidentali, et etiam pratum regium in predicto territorio de Dunde, et etiam constabulariam castri de Dunde, cum suis pertinentiis, libertatibus et asyamentis sine aliquo retinemento, pro homagio predicto Domino Regi et heredibus suis vel suis successoribus faciendo, et pro fideli servicio et succursu suo predicto regno impenso portando vexillum regium in exercitu Socie tempore confectionis presentium, tenenda et habenda predicto Alexandro et heredibus suis de predicto Domino nostro Rege et heredibus suis vel suis successoribus, libere, quiete, integre, pacifice et honorifice in perpetuum, cum omnibus pertinentiis, libertatibus et asyamentis ad dictam terram et pratum prenominatum, et prefatam constabulariam spectantibus vel quoquo modo spectare valentibus in futurum, faciendo inde annuatim Domino Regi et heredibus suis vel suis successoribus, scilicet pro predictis terra, prato, et constabularia cum suis pertinentiis, libertatibus, et asyamentis, servicium quod pertinet ad dictam constabulariam tantum pro omnibus que de predictis exigi poterunt in futurum. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum commune predicti Regni Socie presentis scripto est appositum. Datum apud Torpcheichyn vigesimo nono die Marci, Anno Gracie millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo octavo."

From the above document, it will appear that Wallace was sole Regent; and that, when he associated the name of the younger Sir Andrew Murray along with his own, it may be considered as only a respectful compliment to the memory of the gallant and patriotic father, whose example the young warrior was thereby excited to emulate.

the battle of Stirling, were not of a less decisive character than those which marked his policy on his return from England. Abercromby also states, that he held a commission of Regency under the seal of Baliol*, which was privately executed during the captivity of the latter in the Tower of London. To this statement, tradition unites her testimony, and adds, that Wallace likewise obtained a bond from the principal barons of Scotland, authorizing any measures he might adopt for the recovery of the kingdom. This bond, it is asserted, he held *in terrorem* over the heads of the aristocracy, for the purpose of compelling them to their duty.

The authority of Wallace, however, whether conferred or assumed, unfortunately for his country, was not destined to be of long duration. Soon after the defeat of the Earl of Pembroke, Edward, now reconciled to his barons, entered Scotland by the eastern marches, with a formidable army, consisting, according to English writers, of 3000 horsemen, armed at all points, 4000 of a lighter description, called *hobelars*, and 80,000 foot. A further reinforcement overtook him on his march, which swelled his forces to upwards of 100,000 fighting men, a great proportion of whom were veterans, inured to arms in the French wars. To oppose a power so overwhelming in the open field, the Guardian well knew would be in vain; he, therefore, again resorted to those measures which had already been found so effective: the population retired with their cattle and provisions before the approaching enemy, after destroying whatever they conceived might be useful to the invaders. While the Scottish army kept far in the advance, a strict *surveillance* was exercised over the motions of their adversaries, so that few of the English scouts were able to return with any satisfactory account of the position or numbers of their opponents; and though most of the fortified places made little or no resistance, yet the supplies the conquerors found in the garrisons, did little to relieve that scarcity which soon began to be severely felt among the multitudes who followed the banner of England.

In the mean time, the fleet which Edward had ordered to attend him with provisions being detained by contrary winds, he was compelled to wait their arrival; and, for this purpose, he fixed his head-quarters in the preceptory of the Knights Templars at Torpichen†; while part of his army

* This deed Baliol could have no great difficulty in executing; for though residing in the Tower, he enjoyed the full liberty of twenty miles round, and a princely retinue to attend him. That he transmitted a commission of Regency to Wallace, is not only highly probable, but placed almost beyond a doubt, not merely from the suspicions entertained by Edward, and the severe treatment which Baliol latterly experienced in consequence of his supposed duplicity, but also from the fact of Wallace *possessing and using*, in his character of Regent of the kingdom, the seal of the dethroned monarch; and that in the presence, and with the sanction of the assembled nobility. Evidence to this effect is furnished by the charter granted to Alexander Scrymgeour, given in the preceding note; and as the lands which were at that time conferred are declared to have belonged to the crown, the full and unrestricted authority with which Wallace was invested becomes thereby the more apparent.

† Lord Hailes, on the authority of Hemingford, says "Temple-liston," and thus condescends to notice a respectable writer:—"Sir Robert Sibbald, Comment. in Relat. et

occupied Temple-liston, thus keeping open his communication with the sea.

Edward, in his march, had met with little annoyance, except from the stronghold of Dirleton, and two other castles in his rear, the garrisons of which made frequent sorties, and cut off several of his foraging parties. The Bishop of Durham was therefore ordered to lay siege to these fortresses. His efforts, however, were at first unsuccessful; he was driven from the walls of Dirleton with considerable loss; and as the force under his command was in want of provisions, as well as of a sufficient battering train, he sent Sir John Fitz-Marmaduke to represent his situation at headquarters. "Go back," said Edward, "and tell Antony that he is right to be pacific when he is acting the Bishop, but that in his present business he must forget his calling: and as for you, Marmaduke," addressing the messenger, "You are a relentless soldier; I have often had to reprove you for too cruel exultation over the death of your enemies; but return now whence you came, and be as relentless as you choose, you will deserve my thanks, not my censure;—but look you do not see my face again till these three castles are razed to the ground*."

While lying inactive in the preceptory of the Templars, Edward appears to have amused himself by raising a number of young squires to the rank of knighthood; and—a few ships, affording a temporary supply, having very opportunely arrived—a donation of wine was distributed on the occasion among the soldiers, the effects of which liberality soon became apparent. Intoxicated with

Blair, p. 31, says 'at *Torphichen*,' because *Blind Harry* says so. It was an admirable fancy to correct W. Hemingford by *Blind Harry!* Had Edward fixed his head-quarters at *Torphichen*, his communication with Edinburgh and the Frith of Forth would have been speedily cut off."

This is scarcely doing Sir Robert justice. It is more reasonable to suppose that he said so, after weighing the probabilities of the case. That *Torphichen* was a place of some importance, and possessed accommodation, appears certain, from the circumstance of Wallace having, only a few months before, assembled the Scottish Barons to a parliament there; and it was, as—has been already mentioned, the station of a preceptory of the Templars, within the precincts of which Edward was more likely to fix his head-quarters, than in any part of the desolated country around him. During his stay, we also find him employed in conferring the honour of knighthood on a number of young esquires;—an idea very naturally produced by his residence in such a spot. That Edward's communication with Edinburgh and the Frith of Forth became thereby liable to any interruption, is a supposition more to be admired for simplicity than depth of reflection. The distance between *Torphichen* and *Temple-liston* is but a very few miles. Edward was at the head of an army consisting of 7000 cavalry, and about 100,000 foot; a multitude that could find little more than tent-room in the space between the two places. Had the English monarch, therefore, been the most imbecile general that ever led men to the field,—with such a force he could have no difficulty in keeping open his communication to a much greater extent than what was required in such a position. That a portion of the English army was stationed at *Temple-liston*, is not to be doubted; and it seems equally certain, that Edward made the more convenient station of *Torphichen* his own head-quarters. Sir Robert, therefore, had reason, as well as the authority of *Blind Harry*, in support of his statement.

* See Appendix, N.

their allowance, the national animosity of the English and Welsh troops broke out in a dangerous mutiny. The latter, inflamed by wine, and irritated by the privations they had already suffered, attacked the English in their quarters during the night, and murdered eighteen ecclesiastics; whereupon the English cavalry, in revenge, rode in upon the assailants, and slew eighty of their number. The Welsh, who amounted to 40,000, now withdrew from the English in high displeasure at the slaughter of their countrymen; and Edward, having at first made light of the affair, afterwards found it necessary to exert himself, in order to effect a reconciliation. Meantime, the scarcity continued to increase in his camp to such an extent, as induced him to issue his orders for a retreat.

The Scottish army, by the prudence of its leader, had hitherto been kept as it were invisible from the enemy, who were only aware of its existence, by the desolation with which it surrounded them; and the excellent generalship of Wallace was now to all appearance about to be crowned with its usual success, when his plans were rendered abortive by the treachery of his pretended adherents. Two Scottish noblemen* found means to communicate to the Bishop of Durham the position of the Scottish army, and their intention to surprise the English by a night attack, and afterwards to hang upon their rear, and harass them in their retreat. Edward received this news with ecstasy. "Thanks be to God!" he exclaimed, "who hath hitherto extricated me from every danger. They shall not need to follow me, since I shall forthwith go and meet them;" and, instantly countermanding the orders for a retreat, he prepared to go in search of the Scottish army.

Though the utmost diligence was used by Edward and his officers, morning was pretty far advanced before the immense concourse of warriors could be put in motion. The distant stations which an army so numerous must necessarily have occupied, rendered an instant removal altogether impossible; and a whole summer's day was therefore consumed in enabling them to reach an extensive heath to the east of *Linlithgow*; where, for that night, they rested in their armour. In the mid-watch, however, an alarm spread, that the enemy were at hand, and considerable confusion ensued. It originated in an uproar, occasioned by an accident which happened to the King:—His war-horse, which stood beside him, had it seems become restive, and trampled on him as he lay on the heath; and his domestics having raised the cry, that the King was wounded, every man grasped his weapon, and stood on his defence. *Philip de Belvey*, the King's surgeon, however, soon quieted their apprehensions, and they again betook themselves to rest.

* These noblemen, it is said, were the Earls of Dunbar and Angus. With respect to the first, there is certainly a mistake, as he does not appear ever to have joined the standard of Wallace, and the other, with more propriety, may be called an Anglo-Scot. What share he may have had in the treason, is uncertain. That the plans of Wallace were betrayed by those in his confidence, is evident; but who the guilty parties were, remains doubtful. The subsequent conduct of Cumyn excites a strong suspicion against him.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ENGLISH ARMY ADVANCE TO LINLITHGOW—
BATTLE OF FALKIRK, FROM THE ACCOUNTS GIVEN
BY ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH WRITERS—MISCEL-
LANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

DAY broke on the army of England moving onward to Linlithgow in one long and variegated column. To those whom sanctity of character, or local situation, enabled to await its approach, the spectacle, which was now at hand, must have been fearfully interesting. Since the days of the Romans, the present army was perhaps the largest that had traversed the plains of Scotland. Many alterations had been introduced about this time into Europe by the crusaders; and Edward, who was no inapt scholar in the military art, had, during his residence in Palestine, and his expeditions to France, availed himself of every invention that came under his observation. His army, therefore, might justly be considered as the most perfect in discipline, equipment, and feudal splendour, that Christendom could boast of at the time. As it approached, it seemed to lengthen,—the interminable array issuing, as it were, from some inexhaustible source on the verge of the horizon: its glittering mazes occasionally appearing and disappearing among the inequalities of the road, might be aptly compared to the undulating movements of one of those enormous serpents that figure in the pages of romance, some of whose coils are at times seen while its extremities are concealed amid the darkness of the den from whence it is represented as issuing forth. Most of the inhabitants fled before the unwelcome intruders, except a few Carmelite friars, who stopped to gaze on the warlike pageant.

The confused hum of this living mass increased as it advanced, till the deserted walls of Linlithgow resounded to the braying of clarions, the thundering of kettle-drums, and the prancing of war-steeds in flowing caparisons, bestrode by warriors mailed to the teeth, having long two-handed swords depending from their girdles, while their right hands held lances, and their left supported triangular shields painted with the various devices of their families.

Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln*, and Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Constable of England, led the first division. The second was under the charge of Bishop Bek, who, having executed the commission Edward had sent him by John Fitz-Marmaduke, next appeared in this portentous march, attended by thirty-nine banners; for this proud ecclesiastic spared no expense to render his retinue as magnificent as possible. In the third division under the command of the King, besides the royal standard (*three leopards courant*), there waved, the sacred banner of St. John of Beverley, that of St. George (*white with a red cross*), that of St. Edmund, King of the West-Saxons (*blue with three gold crowns*), that of St. Edward the Confessor (*blue, with a cross fleury between five martlets, gold*), and also the ominous standard of Henry III.,

* The banner of the Earl of Lincoln was of yellow silk, with a purple lion rampant. That of the Constable was of deep blue silk, with a white bend between two *coütes* of fine gold, on the outside of which he had six lioncels rampant.—*Walter of Exeter.*

by the unfurling of which the army were apprised of the vicinity of the enemy, and the certainty of an approaching battle. This gorgeous emblem of war was never displayed, except to announce a positive intention to fight: it was formed of red satin, bearing a dragon embroidered in gold, having sapphire eyes, and the tongue ingeniously contrived to seem continually moving*.

Amongst those who followed the royal banner, was Brian Fitz-Allan†, the late Governor of Scotland, attended by his vassals, and those Scots who still ventured to oppose the liberties of their country. Of the latter, we find Brian le Jay, preceptor of the Scottish Templars, who probably joined Edward at Torphichen. What number of knights accompanied him to the field in this formidable crusade against the freedom of that people who fostered them, cannot now be ascertained; we may, however, venture to include *John de Sautre, "Maister de la Chivalerie de Templi en Ecosse."*

The immense multitude of Welsh collected by Edward, as being better acquainted with mountain warfare, were dispersed among the different divisions of the forces. Being mostly archers, and clothed in white tunics, they were easily distinguished from the other troops.

Tradition asserts, that this grand army took a whole day to deploy through the town of Linlithgow. This perhaps may be true respecting the parties escorting the heavy war-engines, butlers attending the camp, and other stragglers; but the advanced guard of the English came in sight of the Scottish outposts early in the day. The latter occupied the ridge of a hill; and as the English marched up to attack them, a thick mist intervened, and prevented the intended encounter.

When the day cleared up, the Scottish army was discovered in the distance, taking up their positions, and preparing for battle. Their numbers did not exceed 30,000—not a third part of the force opposed to them; and aware of the immense advantages which Edward possessed, and extremely averse to risk the safety of the country on the issue of a single battle, the Guardian would gladly have protracted the warfare, by retiring farther to the north. Divisions, however, prevailed among the leaders of the Scots; and, before they could agree on the measures necessary to be adopted, the near approach of the English, and the great superiority of the latter in cavalry, rendered retreat extremely hazardous.

The Scottish army, which consisted principally of spearmen or lancers, was arranged in four divisions or schiltrons. Those in the centre held their long spears perpendicular, and stood ready to fill up a vacancy, while each intervening rank gradually sloped their weapons till they came to a level. The front rank kneeling, and the whole closely wedged together, presented to the enemy the appearance of four enormous, impenetrable porcupines, the space between each being filled up with archers.

Edward, on seeing these dispositions for battle, hesitated to give orders for the attack, and pro-

* In an encampment, this ensign was placed near the royal tent, on the right of the other standards. It was intended to be expressive of destruction to the enemy, and of safety to the weary and wounded among the English.—*Vide Illustrations of British History.*

† See Appendix, O.

posed that his followers should pitch their tents, and allow the soldiers and horses time for rest and refreshment. This was opposed by his officers, as being unsafe in their present situation,—a small rivulet only intervening between the two armies. “What, then, would you advise?” exclaimed Edward. “An immediate advance!” was the reply; “the field and the victory will be our’s.” “In God’s name, then, let it be so!” said the King.

The Earls of Lincoln and Hereford, accordingly, led the first squadron to the attack. Their progress, however, was retarded by an extensive morass, which covered the front of the Scots, and obliged their enemies to make a circuit to the west. While thus employed, the powerful squadron under the Bishop of Durham managed to get in front of the enemy. Bek, however, on observing the formidable appearance of his opponents, wished to delay the charge till supported by the column under the command of the King. “Stick to thy mass, Bishop,” said Ralf Basset of Drayton, “and teach us not what to do in the face of an enemy.” “On, then,” said Bek, “Set on, in your own way; we are all soldiers to-day, and bound to do our duty.” Instantly they rushed forward, and soon became engaged with the first schiltrons, which was almost simultaneous attacked on the opposite quarter by the first division which had cleared the morass. The cavalry of the Scots, and a large body of the vassals of John Cumyn, immediately wheeled about, and left the field without awaiting the attack. The schiltrons of spearmen, however, stood firm, and repulsed all the efforts of their numerous and heavy-armed assailants, who recoiled again and again from before the mass of spears which their enemies presented. Baffled in their attack, the cavalry of Edward charged upon the archers, who, less able to stand their ground against the weight of their mail-clad adversaries, gave way. In this confusion, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, brother to the Steward of Scotland, was thrown to the ground, while attempting to rally his vassals, the archers of Sellkirk; and though many of them rushed forward to his assistance, their exertions were in vain:—their gallant leader fell, surrounded by the bodies of his faithful tenantry.

Though heavy squadrons of cavalry were continually pushed forward against the Scottish spearmen, still the latter maintained their ranks, and displayed such admirable discipline and stubborn resolution, that Edward, convinced of the inability of breaking their array, suspended the charges of his horsemen, and ordered all his archers and slingers to advance*.

Langtoft thus describes the conduct and appearance of the Scottish infantry:—

“Ther formast conrey, ther bakkis togidere sette,
Ther speres poynt ouer poynt, so sare & o thikke
& fast togidere joynt, to se it was ferlike.
Als a castelle thei stode, that were walled with stone,
Thei wende no man of blode thorgh tham suld haf gone

* Langtoft says, the Welsh, amounting to 40,000, would not act against the Scots at Falkirk.

“The Walsch folk that tide did nouthir ille no gode,
Thei held tham alle bi side, opon a hille thei stode.
Ther thei stode that while, tille the bataille was don.”

Ther folk was so mykelle, so stalworth & so clene,
Ther foyntes forward prikelle, nonhut wild thei wene,
That if alle Ingland fro Berwik vnto Kent,
The folk therin men fond had bien thider sent,
Stengh suld non haf had, to pette tham thorgh outh,
So wer thei set sad with poyntes rounde aboute.”

The formation of these Scottish schiltrons was admirably adapted for defence; and had they been supplied with a sufficient body of cavalry to have protected them from the assaults of the archers, they might have kept their ground, in defiance of every effort of the enemy. But, deserted by their own cavalry, they now stood helplessly exposed to a storm of missiles which assailed them in all directions; for though those in the centre bravely pressed forward to fill up the chasms in front, cloud after cloud of arrows, mingled with stones, continued to descend among their ranks with increasing and deadly effect, till the ground was encumbered around them; while their former assailants sat with their horses on the rein, ready to burst in upon them at the first opening that would offer. The Scots at last became unsteady, under the incessant and murderous discharge of the English artillery. The cavalry then dashed forward, and breaking in upon their ranks, completed the confusion.

Wallace now saw that retreat was the only expedient left by which he could save the remnant of his countrymen; and having, with incredible efforts, rallied a number of his most determined adherents, he attacked the foremost of the pursuers, and by that means covered the retreat of the fugitives. Amongst the slain, Brian le Jay* is particularly mentioned. The death of this Templar, which took place in Callender-wood, damped the ardour of his companions, and enabled the Scots to make good their retreat. In this sanguinary conflict, 15,000 Scots are said to have been left on the field; the most distinguished of whom were Sir John Graham of Dundalk, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, and MacDuff, grand-uncle to the Earl of Fife. The extent of the English loss, from the stubborn opposition of their enemies, must also have been considerable. After the battle, Wallace fell back on Stirling, which he burnt, in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the English.

Respecting this battle, Scottish authors give a very different account from the preceding, which is chiefly taken from the pages of English historians. According to the former, the envy of the nobles towards Wallace, and the dissensions incident thereto, were the chief, if not the sole occasion of the disaster. The Scottish army, say they, consisted of three divisions of ten thousand men each, under the command of Sir John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, chief of the powerful clan of that name; Sir John Stewart, brother to the Lord of Bute, who, in addition to his own tenantry, headed those of his absent brother; and Sir William Wallace,—three of the most powerful men in the country, the two former from their birth and influence, the latter from the great fame acquired by his military achievements. On the brink of the engagement, an imprudent and unfortunate disagreement arose among the leaders. Stewart in-

sisted upon taking command of the army, being, as he conceived, entitled to that honour, as the representative of his brother, who was Lord High Steward of Scotland; Cumyn claiming it, in his own right, on account of high birth, and near relationship to the crown; and Wallace, as Guardian of the kingdom, refused to admit the pretensions of either to a command which he, as representative of their absent sovereign, conceived himself every way entitled to, even though he had not earned that honour by former services. Stewart, in the heat of the altercation, is said to have upbraided Wallace with the lowness of his birth, and charged him with encroaching on the rights of the nobility, which reminded him, he said, "of the owl in the fable, who, having borrowed a feather from one bird, and a feather from another, became vain of his plumage, and endeavoured to lord it over his betters. The application is not difficult," continued he; "for, if every nobleman in Scotland were to claim his part of those vassals which now follow your banners, your own personal retainers would make but a sorry appearance in support of your high-flown pretensions." Wallace heard, with stern composure, those ill-timed remarks of the haughty chieftain. "I am not ignorant," said he, "of the source whence this insulting language has proceeded; and since you, my Lord, condescend to utter their sentiments, you may be also induced to imitate their example: and even this," glancing a look of indignation at Cumyn, "I am not altogether unprepared for. Your fable of the owl is not quite applicable; for I always showed myself in the face of day, asserting the liberty and independence of my country, while some others, like owls, courted concealment, and were too much afraid of losing their roosts, to leave them for such a cause. As to my followers, I wish no man to follow me who is not sound at the heart in the cause of his country; and either at the head or in the ranks of these, I will always consider it my glory to be found. In the mean time, till it appear who are entitled to that character, I will make an alteration in my position." Having thus spoken, he removed those under his command to a strong position on the face of a hill immediately behind.

Edward, as if aware of the feud that thus existed in the Scottish camp, and though suffering from the effects of his late accident, ordered the Earl of Hereford, Constable of England, to advance with a body of thirty thousand men, to attack the division under Cumyn; who, on seeing them approach, turned his banners, and marched off the field, leaving Stewart and his Brandanes (as the inhabitants of Bute were then called), and the archers of Selkirk, his immediate vassals, exposed to all the fury of the charge. They sustained it with the firmest resolution; but the great mass of assailants against whom they were engaged, left them little chance of success. Stewart, in the early part of the battle, while giving orders to a body of archers, was thrown from his horse and slain. His followers, however, far from being discouraged by the loss of their chief, continued the conflict with the greatest bravery. MacDuff, with a great part of his retainers, were cut off, in their endeavours to retrieve the fortunes of the day, yet numbers forced their way through the ranks of the English, and joined the division under Wallace. This was observed by Edward, who,

impatient at the resistance he had already met with, ordered Robert Bruce and the Bishop of Durham to advance with the forces under their command. While Wallace was engaged in securing the retreat of his unfortunate countrymen, Bruce made a circuit round the hill which he occupied, and gaining the ascent, obliged him to quit his position, and endeavour to force his way through the enemy beneath. The charge of this fresh body of Scots, composed of the stoutest and best disciplined warriors in the country, was but ill sustained by the division they attacked, which, giving way before their impetuous descent, was thrown into confusion; and Wallace, availing himself of their disorder, directed his troops to cross the Carron, and occupy a post which commanded the ford. In the mean time, with a small but choice body of his friends, he kept in the rear, and continued to charge and repulse those that were most forward in the pursuit. In one of these efforts, Wallace advanced alone from the midst of his little band, and, with a single blow, slew Sir Brian le Jay, a knight templar* of high military renown, who had shown himself most active in harassing the retreating Scots. This action rendered the others more cautious in their approaches. Sir John Graham, however, giving way to a gallant but imprudent ardour, advanced too far amongst the enemy, where he was surrounded and slain; and Wallace, after repeated endeavours to revenge the death of his friend, rejoined his followers. This he effected with great difficulty, from the influx of the tide, and the weakness of his horse, which is said to have been so worn out with the fatigues of the day, and the wounds it had received, that the noble animal expired as soon as it had placed its master beyond the reach of his pursuers. By the attention of his trusty follower Kerlé, who stood an anxious spectator on the danger of his chief, Wallace was furnished with a fresh horse; and the two friends, as they moved slowly along the banks of the river, were gazing with silent and sorrowful interest on the scene of carnage they had left, when Bruce, from the opposite bank, having recognised the Guardian, raised his voice, and requested an interview. This was readily granted, and the warriors approached each other from opposite sides of the river, at a place narrow, deep, and rocky. When on the margin of the stream, Wallace waved his hand, to repress the curiosity of his followers, while he eyed his misled countryman with stern, but dignified composure. Bruce felt awed by the majestic appearance and deportment of the patriot, and his voice, though loud, became

* This warrior is thus described by Langtoft, who claims him as an Englishman:—

"Was no man Inglis maynhd no dede that day,
Bot a templer of pris, Sir Brian the geay
Maister temlere he was on this half the se,
He folowed the Scottis pas, whan the bigan to fle
Fer in tulle a wod; men calle it Kalenters,
Ther in a mire a mod, withouten help of pers,
Slank thei Sir Brian alone withouten mo."

Vol. ii. p. 305, 6.

By Rymer, however, he is noticed as swearing fealty to Edward in Edinburgh Castle, July 1291, after the convocation of Brigham, and designated as *preceptor templi in Scotia*; and, by the same authority, it appears his example was followed by *John de Sautre*, and those under his control.

tremulous as he thus addressed him:—"I am surprised, Sir William, that you should entertain thoughts, as it is believed you do, of attaining to the crown of Scotland; and that, with this chimerical object in view, you should thus continue to expose yourself to so many dangers. It is not easy, you find, to resist the King of England, who is one of the greatest princes in the world. And were you even successful in your attempts, are you so vain as to imagine, that the Scots will ever suffer you to be their King?" The Guardian did not allow him to say more. "No," replied he, "my thoughts never soared so high, nor do I intend to usurp a crown I very well know my birth can give me no right to, and my services can never merit. I only mean to deliver my country from oppression and slavery, and to support a just cause, which you have abandoned. You, my lord, whose right may entitle you to be king, ought to protect the kingdom; it is because you do it not, that I must, and will, while I breathe, endeavour the defence of that country I was born to serve, and for which, if Providence will have it so, to die. As for you, who, in place of exerting your talents to turn the tide of battle in your country's favour, choose rather to live a slave, if with safety to your life and fortune, than free, with the hazard of losing the latter, you may remain in possession of what you so much value, while the hollow praises of our enemies may blind you to the enormity of your conduct; but remember, my lord, they whom you are thus aiding to bind the yoke of slavery on the necks of your countrymen, will not long consider that conduct praiseworthy in you, which they would condemn as infamous in themselves; and if they are successful in rivetting our chains, you will find your reward in the well-earned contempt of the oppressor, and the hearty execrations of the oppressed. Pause, therefore, and reflect; if you have but the heart to claim the crown, you may win it with glory, and wear it with justice. I can do neither; but what I can I will—live and die a free born man." These generous sentiments, uttered in a clear, manly, and determined tone of voice, came home to the heart of Bruce, with all the sternness of deserved reproof; and he was about to reply, when the ringing of harness, followed by the appearance of a number of helmets, over-topping the ridge of a neighbouring hillock, made it prudent to break off the conference.

Such are the particulars of this memorable battle, as related with some trifling variations, by most of, if not by all, our old Scottish historians. As modern commentators, however, consider themselves justified in denying some of the material points; particularly the feud among the leaders—the presence of Bruce in the engagement—and, consequently, his conference with Wallace, we shall in this place devote a few pages to their consideration.

These objections are chiefly founded on the authority of Hemingford and Trevit, two English monks, who are said to have had their information from eye-witnesses. This may be all true; but when we find one of them (Hemingford) asserting, that "*fifty thousand Scots were slain in the battle, many drowned, three hundred thousand foot taken prisoners, besides a thousand horse,*" we may reasonably suppose the possibility of the *eye-witnesses* being so much occupied in counting their killed and captured enemies, that matters of such com-

paratively trifling importance may not have had the requisite share of their attention. Lord Hailes, however, lends the weight of his highly respectable name in support of those who deny the truth of this portion of our national annals, and thus expresses himself on the points in question: "It would be tedious and unprofitable to recite all that has been said on this subject by our own writers, from Fordun to Abercrombie, how Wallace, Stewart, and Comyn quarrelled on the punctilio of leading the van of an army, which stood on the defensive; how Stewart compared Wallace to an owl, with borrowed feathers; how the Scottish leaders, busied in this frivolous altercation, had no leisure to form their army; how Comyn traitorously withdrew with ten thousand men; how Wallace, from resentment, followed his example; how, by such disastrous incidents, the Scottish army was enfeebled, and Stewart and his party abandoned to destruction. Our histories abound in trash of this kind. There is scarcely one of our writers who has not produced an invective against Comyn, or an apology for Wallace, or a lamentation for the deserted Stewart. What dissensions may have prevailed among the Scottish commanders, it is impossible to know. It appears not to me, that their dissensions had any influence on their conduct in the day of battle. The truth seems to be this:—The English cavalry greatly exceeded the Scotch in numbers—were infinitely better equipped, and more adroit. The Scottish cavalry were intimidated and fled;—had they remained in the field, they might have preserved their honour, but never could have turned the chance of that day. It was natural, however, for such of their party as survived the engagement, to impute the disaster to the defection of the cavalry:—National pride would ascribe their flight to treachery rather than to pusillanimity. It is not improbable, that Comyn commanded the cavalry; hence a report may have spread, that Comyn betrayed his country: the report has been embellished by each successive relation. When men are seized with a panic, their commander *must* of necessity, or *will* from prudence, accompany them in their flight. Earl Warren fled with his army from Stirling to Berwick, yet Edward did not punish him as a traitor or a coward.

"The tale of Comyn's treachery and Wallace's ill-timed resentment, may have gained credit, because it is a pretty tale, and not improbable in itself; but it always amazes me that the story of the congress of Bruce and Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk, should have gained credit. I lay aside the full evidence which we now possess, 'that Bruce was not at that time of the English party, nor present at the battle'—for it must be admitted, that our historians knew nothing of those circumstances which demonstrate the impossibility of the congress—but the wonder is, that men of sound judgment should not have seen the absurdity of a long conversation between the commander of a flying army, and one of the leaders of a victorious army. When Fordun told the story, he placed 'a narrow but inaccessible glen;' between the speakers. Later historians have substituted the river Carron in place of an inaccessible glen; and they make Bruce and Wallace talk across the river like two young declaimers from the pulpits in a school of rhetoric."

With all due deference to his Lordship, we conceive that the strength of his first objection lies chiefly in adhering too literally to the words "*leading the van*," made use of by some of our old writers; others, who mention the quarrel, do not so express themselves. Now, we do not see any thing so improbable in a discussion arising among these chiefs, who considered themselves independent of each other, about who should have the supreme command in directing the operations of the day, which, we presume, is all that is to be understood in this instance by "*leading the van*." The obvious advantage of having a commander-in-chief in so momentous an occasion, could not have escaped the merest tyro in military tactics; and that no person was appointed to this office, even his Lordship does not deny. That Wallace, from past services, as well as from being Guardian of the kingdom, had reason to consider himself entitled to this distinction, cannot be disputed; and it is not likely, from the talents and foresight he had displayed on former occasions, that he would have come to the field against so powerful and so experienced an adversary, without having previously formed some plan for conducting the operations of the day, so as to counteract the great superiority of force, which the English monarch had brought into the field. The thwarting of his plans, by the envy and hauteur of his colleagues, affords a plain and obvious solution of his conduct; and his resignation of the Guardianship after the battle (which his Lordship does not deny), very strongly corroborates the account given by our Scottish historians, of the treatment which he received on the field; and this treatment must have been attended with circumstances which convinced him of the utter hopelessness of his being able to direct the resources of the country to advantage. Strong indeed must have been the reasons which induced this brave, intrepid, and prudent pilot, to relinquish the helm of affairs at so critical a juncture. That an unfortunate animosity existed, we have the most ample testimony; and though his Lordship conceives it to have been so very trifling in its nature, as not to influence the parties in the discharge of their duty, yet we have respectable and incontrovertible evidence that it not only did so, but was the principal, if not the sole cause of the disasters which overwhelmed the country. Wytown this expresses himself, on the occasion:—

"For dyspyt and gret inwy
The Comyns Kyn all hályly
Fyrst left the Feld; and, as behowyd,
Synne Willame Walayis hym remowyd;
For he persáwyd gret malys
Agayne hym scharpyd mony wys."

And again,

"Before than couth ná man say,
Ná nevyr we sene befor that day,
Sá hále wencust the Scottis men:
Ná it had noucht fallyn then,
Had noucht Falshead and Inwy
Devysyd theme sá syndryly."

Here there is no national pride interfering, to conceal the extent of the discomfiture of the Scots; and it is surprising his Lordship should conceive, that any one would think it necessary to invent

what he calls a "*pretty tale*," for the purpose of soothing the national feelings. Thirty thousand Scots, we presume, may be defeated by ninety or a hundred thousand English, without being *very* much disgraced by the affair; whereas the English authorities may have been silent on circumstances which tended to diminish the glory of their victory, even had they come to their knowledge.

That Cumyn commanded the cavalry is merely a conjecture of his Lordship; but allowing it to have been the case, we conceive there is a material difference between a leader joining in the general flight of his army, and one riding off with part of the forces, and leaving the rest to stand the brunt of the engagement. If Warren had acted so, we presume he would either have been punished as a traitor, or cashiered as a coward. That Cumyn was afterwards elected one of the regents of the kingdom, affords no satisfactory evidence of his having acted correctly. He was at the head of the only entire body of troops in the country, and his faction unbroken—of course, there could be no opposition to his election. And the wonder is, considering the ambition of the man, that under these circumstances he was not appointed sole regent, in place of sharing a divided authority, as will be seen in the sequel, with one who was his inferior in birth, talents, and influence.

We cannot see any great improbability of the "*congress*" (as his Lordship calls it) having taken place in the manner described, provided that *Bruce was present*. Wallace had already secured his troops from immediate pursuit. Bruce might think it a favourable opportunity to palliate his conduct at Irvine; and Wallace, who was seldom afraid to come in juxtaposition with any one, might have been easily induced to stand when he hailed him. His Lordship's objection is founded chiefly on the length of the conversation. Now, if any one will peruse it, even in the most verbose of our historians, he will find that it could not have occupied more than five minutes, which certainly cannot be called "a long conversation," or at least so long as to afford any thing like a plausible objection to its occurrence. As to Fordun having placed "a narrow inaccessible glen" between the parties, it does not in the least affect the credibility of the account. Few glens are to be found in Scotland, without a river or stream of some description running through them; and in speaking of any of these, it is no uncommon thing for one person to allude to the glen, and another to the river or stream so connected with it.

That all our ancient authors should agree in the circumstance of Bruce being present at the battle, is very singular, provided he was not there. How they should all be in this state of ignorance is rather unaccountable, considering the facility they had of informing themselves; as some of them must have written from authority, if not of eyewitnesses, at least of those who derived their accounts from such. It is not at all probable that Bruce, who is universally acknowledged to have been a monarch of great political sagacity, would have allowed a tale, so likely to injure him in the opinion of his subjects, to get into general circulation, while the contrary statement, *if true*, would have tended to exalt him in their estimation. There appear so many irreconcilable circumstances involved in the belief of this opinion, that we feel

much inclined to suspect some little discrepancy in the evidence to which his Lordship so confidently alludes*, more particularly as Wyntowne, whose authority is highly appreciated by all writers, is so very pointed in asserting the presence of Bruce in the English army. The words are,—

“ Bot yhit the lele Scottis men,
That in that feld ware feychtand then,
To-gyddyr stwd sá fermly
Strykand before thame manlykly,
Swá that náne thare thyril thame mycht,
Bot Robert the Browns than wyth a slycht,
(*He thare wes wyth this King Edward,
Set he oure Kyng wes estyrwart*)
Wyth Schyre Anton the Bek a wely man,
Of Durame Byschape he wes than,
A-bowt ane hill a well fere way
Owt of that stowre than prykyd thay;
Behynd bakkis alsá fast
Thare thai come on, and layid on fast:
Swá made thai the dyscumfytowre.”

Here our author, not satisfied with stating, that “Robert de Browns” was with “*King Edward*,” but, in order to establish the identity of the person, and guard against his being confounded with the elder Robert Bruce, or any other of the same name, he says expressly,

“*Set he oure Kyng wes estyrwart.*”

If Bruce was at this time on the side of the patriots, as his Lordship says, it is singular that he did not appear among them on this eventful day, in a manner becoming his birth, talents, and great territorial influence. When all the chiefs of the party had collected their followers for a grand national struggle, Bruce is represented as employed in guarding, what his Lordship, for the sake of effect, calls the “important castle of Ayr,” which, it seems in those days, “*kept the communication open with Galloway, Argyllshire, and the Isles*.”

* Among the various documents which his Lordship appears to consider authentic, is the following, which he thus introduces:—“I have seen the title of a public instrument, which runs thus:—*Acte contenant les responses faites par Pierre Flotte, Seigneur de Revel, commis par le Roy (de France) pour traiter et conferer avec les Ambassadeurs Anglois, touchant l'execution du traité de treve, et reparation des infractions d'icelle. Simon de Meleun l'arbitre nommé par le Roy, offrit au Roy d'Angleterre de delivrer tous les prisonniers Anglois en rendant par lui le Roy de Escosse et son fils, et les Escossois detenus en Angleterre et ailleurs, ou les mettant en la garde d'un prelat Francois qui les gardera sous le nom du Pape pendant que le Pape jugera de leur differend.*” The original, if extant,” says Lord Hailes, “might serve to explain several circumstances respecting this treaty; particularly, that Edward Baliol was in captivity, together with his father, and that the Pope proposed himself as umpire between Edward I. and his disobedient vassal.”

Now, the above is all good modern French, and the orthography exactly as at present, with the exception of the following words, *responses, traitter, Escosse, sous*, which appear to have had their spelling antiquated a little, to give the document a venerable air;—it has, on the whole, a very clumsy appearance, and shows that it cannot be older than the seventeenth century. If the “*full evidence*” referred to be liable to similar objections, it will not appear very surprising, that our early writers should have been so much in the dark respecting it.

† Vol. i. 311, 312.

Had the possession of this “important castle” been of any use to an army stationed between Linlithgow and Falkirk, it certainly could have been defended by a person of less consequence than Bruce, whose military talents and numerous vassals would have been of infinitely greater service in the field. When Wallace was straining every nerve to collect the strength of the country, to oppose the formidable invaders, and with his utmost efforts could not muster more than 30,000 soldiers, can it be supposed, that he would have failed to summon to the standard of liberty a baron of such influence as the Earl of Carrick, if he thought there were a chance of the summons being obeyed?

Though his Lordship asserts that Bruce had deserted the cause of Edward, yet he does not attempt to show that any communication took place between him and the Scottish army; nor by what authority he assumed the defence of the castle of Ayr, which was a fortress at that time belonging to the Crown. If Hemingford, on whose authority his Lordship chiefly relies, could have gone so egregiously astray from every thing like probability in the account he gives of the casualties of the battle, we may, without injustice, receive his testimony on this, or on any other subject, with suspicion; particularly when it goes to contradict historians of acknowledged veracity, who had opportunities of being at least equally well informed on the subject as himself. It has been advanced by the learned annalist, in evidence of the truth of Hemingford's statement, that lands and castles belonging to Bruce were plundered and taken by the English army. By a parity of reasoning, if these lands and castles had been exempt from the general outrage, it would have proved that Bruce was in the interest of England; and the Guardian and Barons of Scotland would thereby have stood convicted of the unparalleled folly of allowing lands to be occupied, and castles to be held, in the very centre of the country, by the open and declared partisan of their enemy. That the title of Bruce to his Scottish estates was in abeyance, and his castles garrisoned for the safety of the commonwealth of Scotland, is the most probable state of the affair. When the half-famished soldiers of Edward, therefore, pillaged the lands, and attacked the castles of Bruce, they did what their King, under such circumstances, neither could nor would restrain, whether his vassal had renounced his allegiance or not. This conduct on the part of the English, therefore, can afford no evidence whatever of Bruce being at the time “in arms against England.”

These observations the writer has thought it expedient to make, in support of the relation given of the battle of Falkirk by the ancient historians of Scotland. As the talents, however, which Lord Hailes has displayed in his researches into Scottish history, are held by the public in high, and in many instances, deserved estimation; and though it is with reluctance that we differ from one whose opinions in general are entitled to credit; yet, as we find him in this instance at variance with most of our ancient Scottish authorities, we have thought it our duty to endeavour to lay both sides of the question fairly before the reader, in order that he may be able to form his own opinion of the matter.

CHAPTER XV.

NOTICES RESPECTING SIR JOHN GRAHAM AND SIR JOHN STEWART—CONDUCT OF CUMYN—WALLACE RESIGNS THE GUARDIANSHIP—EDWARD RETURNS HOME—TRIUMPHANT PROCESSION OF THE LONDONERS IN HONOUR OF HIS VICTORY AT FALKIRK—REVIEW OF THE CAMPAIGN.

THE retreat of Wallace from the field of Falkirk, may justly be considered as a masterpiece of generalship. The formidable bodies of horse at the disposal of Edward, afforded him ample means of following up and cutting off the retiring army of the Guardian. That so large a body of the Scots, though deserted by their own cavalry, should however have effected their escape in presence of a force so powerful, so well appointed, and headed by one of the first generals of the age, is truly astonishing; and can only be accounted for by supposing, either that the English must have suffered severely in the action, or that the conduct displayed by Wallace was such as awed them from the attempt.

According to the Minstrel, the Guardian, after withdrawing his troops to a place of safety, returned to the field, accompanied by Malcolm Earl of Lennox, Ramsay of Auchterhouse, Sir Richard Lundin, Wallace of Riccarton, Sir Chrytell Seton*, and a number of their followers, to seek for the body of Sir John Graham—the English being by this time removed to Linlithgow.

Considering the great affection our hero entertained for this gallant and accomplished warrior, the circumstance is not improbable. The high value he placed on his services was such, that, in speaking of Graham, he used to designate him as his "right hand." The regret which he felt at his death, would no doubt have been embittered by the reflection, that his friend might easily, from the state of the wounds which he had received at the affair of Blackironside, have absented himself from the battle of Falkirk, without the slightest injury to his reputation. The distress of Wallace, on seeing the dead body, is thus finely depicted by the forementioned author:—

"Among the ded men sekand the worthiast,
The corss off Graym, for quham he murred mast.
Quhen thai him fand, and gud Wallace him saw,
He lychtyt down, and hynt him fra thaim aw
In armyss vp; behaldand his pail face,
He kysst him, and cryt full oft, 'Allace!
My best brothir in ward that eur I had!
My afald freynd, quhen I was hardest stad!
My hop, my heill, thow was in maist honour!
My faith, my help, my strenthiast in stour!
In the was wyt, fredom and hardines;
In the was treuth, manheid, and nobilness;
In the was rewll, in the was guuernans;
In the was werthu with outyn warians;
In the lawté, in the was gret largnas;
In the gentrice, in the was stedfastnas.
Thow was gret causs off wyynnyn off Scotland;
Thocht I began, and tuk the wer on hand,
I wov to God, that has the ward in wauld,
Thi dede sall be to Sotheroun full der sauld.
Martyr thow art for Scotlandis rycht and me;
I sall the wenge, or ellis tharfor de.'

* The son of Sir Chrytell, slain at Blackironside.

Was na man thar fra wepyng mycht hym rafreyn
For loss off him, quhen thai hard Wallace pleyn.
Tha! caryit him with worship and dolour,
In the Fawkyrk graithit him in sepulture."

In this monody, we have a highly finished portrait of a warrior and a gentleman; and the assemblage of rare and shining virtues which are thus said to have met in this illustrious individual, have never been denied or depreciated by the most fastidious of our critics; while all our historians bear uniform testimony to the correctness of the character*. Having discharged this duty to his

* His Grace the Duke of Montrose (one of whose titles is Viscount Dundaff), possesses an antique sword, on which is the following inscription:—

"SIR IONE YE GRAME, VERRY VICHT AND WYSE,
ONE OF YE CHIEFES RELIEVIT SCOTLAND THRYSE.
FAYGHT VITH YS SVORD, AND NER THOUT SCHAME,
COMMANDIT NANE TO BEIR IT BOT HIS NAME.'

"The Duke is also proprietor of Dundaff, where Sir John Graham of Dundaff's castle is seen in ruins.

"The grave-stone of Sir John de Graham is in the churchyard of Falkirk, having the following Latin motto, with a translation:—

'MENTE MANVQVE POTENS, ET VALLE FIDVS ACHATES;
CONDITVR HIC GRAMVS, BELLO INTERFECTVS AB ANGLIS.
XXII. IVLII ANNO 1298.'

'*Heir eyes Sir John the Grame, baith wight and wise,
Ane of the Cheefs who resewvit Scotland thrixe,
Ane better Knight, not to the world was lent,
Nor was gude Grame, of truth and hardiment.'*

"While some of Cromwell's troops were stationed in Falkirk, an officer desired the parochial schoolmaster to translate the Latin. This he did as follows:—

'Of mind and courage stout,
Wallace's true Achates;
Here lies Sir John the Grame,
Felled by the English Baties.'

"There are now three stones upon the grave. When the inscription on the first had begun to wear out by the influence of the weather, a second was put above it, with the same inscription; and a third was lately added by William Graham of Airth, Esq. At a little distance, upon the left, is an unpolished stone, said to cover the remains of the gallant knight of Bonkill."—*Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire.*

With regard to Stewart of Bonkill being buried in Falkirk, we are inclined to be a little sceptical, not so much from the silence of the Minstrel, as from the great probability of his having been conveyed to Bute by the surviving tenantry of that island. In a small ruined chapel, about half a mile west of Rothesay, there is still to be seen all that remains of "the *auld Stewarts of Bute*," where, amidst a number of dilapidated monuments, well worth the attention of the antiquary, appears a stone figure, said to represent the gallant knight of Bonkill, in complete armour of the thirteenth century. In a recess in the opposite wall there is also to be seen another figure, representing *Jean M'Rudrie, heiress of Bute*. This lady appears to have been descended from a sea-officer, or pirate, named *Rudrie*, who is thus noticed in the Norwegian account of the expedition of King Haco:—"The wind was not favourable; King Haco, however, made Andreas Pott go before him, south to Bute, with some small vessels, to join those he had already sent thither. News was soon received, that they had won a fortress, the garrison of which had capitulated, and accepted terms of the Norwegians. There was with the

departed friend, Wallace rejoined his followers in the Torwood; and, on the following night, he is said to have broken into the English camp on Linlithgow muir, and, after killing a number of the enemy, and spreading alarm through the whole army, effected his retreat without loss.

Edward, incensed at the frequency with which these night attacks were repeated, now determined on pursuing the Scots with his whole forces. His nimble adversaries, however, retired before him, and, having burned Stirling, continued to waste the country as they went along; so that the enemy was put to the greatest inconvenience, from the want of forage for his numerous cavalry.

While the Guardian and his little army of patriots were thus engaging the attention of the invader, Cumyn and the partisans of Stewart were loud in their expressions of disapprobation at the conduct of our hero. The latter charged him with the loss of the battle, by his refraining to assist Stewart till it was too late; and the former, conscious of his own misconduct, in order to supply something like a pretext for having treacherously deserted his countrymen, accused the Guardian with an intention of usurping the sovereign authority; declaring, "that it was more honourable for men of birth to serve a great and powerful monarch, though a foreigner, than subject themselves to the tyranny of an upstart of yesterday."

While such sentiments were circulating among the adherents of these two powerful families, to the manifest injury of the cause of liberty, Cumyn was still increasing the number of his followers; and it appeared uncertain, whether he intended to assist his countrymen, or take part with the invader. Wallace now saw, that, without involving the kingdom in all the horrors of civil war, he could not exercise his authority so as to compel this factious chief to the discharge of his duty; and as the views of Cumyn with regard to the crown, had, on many occasions, been too palpably displayed, to have escaped the observation of Wallace, his late unaccountable retreat had completely opened the eyes of the Guardian to the line of policy he was pursuing. Indeed, had both divisions of the Scottish army been destroyed, Cumyn would have found little difficulty in obtaining the crown from Edward, on the same terms as it had been awarded to Baliol: for being at the head of a powerful body

Norwegians a sea-officer called *Rudri*; he considered Bute as his birth-right; and because he had not received the island of the Scots, he committed many ravages, and killed many people, and for that he was outlawed by the Scottish King. He came to Haco and took the oaths to him, and, with two of his brothers, became his subjects. As soon as the garrison, after having delivered up the stronghold, were gone away from the Norwegians, Rudri killed nine of them, because he thought he owed them no good will." After the treaty between Alexander and the Norwegians, it would seem that Rudrie had been allowed to hold the island of Bute as a vassal of the Scottish crown; and there is every reason to believe that the *Janet M'Rudrie* above-mentioned was either his daughter or grand-daughter, who, by her marrying Alexander Stewart, became the mother of Sir John Stewart of Bonkill.

The present noble proprietor, whose family came to the possession of Bute in the reign of Robert II., has made some slight repairs about the walls where these figures are reclining. It is, however, to be regretted, that a little more attention is not paid to the preservation of such valuable antiques.

of men, with great family interest, and having already made a favourable impression on the English king, by his conduct at the battle of Falkirk, it is highly probable that any lingering partiality which Edward might still entertain for Bruce—whom he had long amused with hopes of the crown—would soon disappear before the pretensions of a more useful claimant. But as Cumyn made the ambition of Wallace the pretext for his refraining to co-operate against the English, with a promptitude which showed his mind as decisive as his sword, when the interest of his country was at stake, the latter called the Estates together, and solemnly renounced the Guardianship of the kingdom, reserving to himself no other privilege than that of fighting against the enemies of Scotland, at the head of such friends as might be inclined to adhere to him. This resignation was accordingly followed by the election of a Regency, consisting of Cumyn, Soulis, and William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrew's*; and by this conduct on the part of Wallace, Cumyn was left without the shadow of an excuse for withholding his assistance against the common enemy; while the talents, prowess, and patriotism of the late Guardian acted as a check in restraining him from sacrificing the interest of the country to his own personal aggrandizement.

Edward reached Stirling four days after the late battle, and took up his quarters in the convent of the Dominicans. Here he remained fifteen days, waiting his recovery from the wound inflicted on him by his horse, and for the arrival of his long-expected fleet. The Castle of Stirling having been partly demolished by Wallace, in his retreat, Edward now applied himself to repair it; and therein, as a place of safety, he deposited those unwieldy engines of war he had brought with him for the purpose of battering the fortifications, and which he found would be troublesome, while pursuing his enemies over the rugged and mountainous country that lay before him.

The accession of strength which the cause of liberty acquired, by the prudent measures of our patriot, enabled the Scots more effectually to embarrass the movements of the enemy. While he, with his brave followers, continued to surprise the foe, by breaking into their camp where least expected, the other leaders were engaged in preventing supplies from reaching the English; and Edward, at last, became apprehensive of advancing too far into the sterile regions of the North. A scarcity had already begun to be severely felt in his army, and he now prudently directed his march towards the more fruitful districts in the neighbourhood of Perth. But there also his unwearied and restless enemy continued to assail those parts of the army that appeared most vulnerable; and having at last cut off a part from the main body of the English forces, by breaking down the bridge over the Tay, in three successive engagements he

* Lamberton appears to have succeeded Frazer in the Bishopric of St. Andrew's. This secret emissary of Edward died at Paris in 1297, to which place he probably thought proper to retire on the success of Wallace. According to his own request, his heart was brought to Scotland, and "laid in halowyed sepulchour" in the wall of the cathedral over which he presided. His body was interred in the cemetery of the Preaching Friars at Paris. Lamberton, his successor, a man of learning and good reputation, had been Chancellor of Glasgow.—*Wyntoun*, vol. ii. p. 99.

defeated them with great slaughter. The English army, however, was still too numerous for the Scots to risk a general engagement; and Edward, finding no probability of bringing the war to a satisfactory conclusion, after wreaking his vengeance on the most fruitful parts of the country, returned home through Ayrshire and Annandale, carrying with him all the spoil he could collect. A body of troops under the command of Henry de Lacy, made a similar inroad in Fife, destroying whatever came in their way, in revenge, no doubt, for the gallant stand the inhabitants had made under MacDuff, their late unfortunate chief. After destroying St. Andrew's*, he laid siege to the castle of Cupar, which surrendered about the end of July †.

Edward now led his army homewards, after leaving a force to protect the southern part of Scotland, the reduction of which was all his mighty efforts had been able to accomplish. To have defeated Wallace, however, a name which had filled England with dismay, was considered by his subjects an achievement deserving of the highest eulogium. The disasters of the campaign were accordingly forgotten, and bands of minstrels issued from the different towns on his route, to welcome the conqueror at Falkirk. The Londoners decreed him a triumphal procession in honour of his victory, and the different corporations vied with each other in the richness of their banners and the splendour of their emblematical representations. Stowe thus mentions the affair; and if we may judge of the appearance of the other professions by the display made by the fishmongers on this joyous occasion, the whole must have exhibited a mass of barbaric magnificence not easily to be surpassed:—"The citizens of London hearing of the great victory obtained by the King of England against the Scottis, made great and solemn rejoicings in their citie, every one according to their craft, especially the fishmongers, which with solemn procession passed through the citie, having, amongst other pageantes and shows, foure sturgeons gilded, carried on four horses, then four salmons of silver on four horses, and after five and fortie knights armed, riding on horses made like luges of the sea, and then Saint Magnus with a thousand horsemen. This they did on St. Magnus' day, in honour of the King's great victory and safe return."

Before closing this chapter, it may not be amiss to take a retrospect view of this most interesting campaign. At the commencement of it, Scotland, by the wisdom and energy of her intrepid Guardian, had again taken her place among the independent nations of Europe. His noble achievements had not only become a theme for the Troubadours of France, but also the subject of conversation and applause at all the courts on the Continent. To Edward, who had not only distinguished himself by his warlike exploits in Syria, but had also, in a tournament held at Calais, baffled and disgraced the most renowned of the chivalry of France, the

plaudits bestowed upon a rival so far beneath him in rank, was peculiarly mortifying, and excited in him the most inveterate hostility toward the nation thus rescued from his thralldom. Wallace, though making every effort for the safety of his country, found no abatement of that feeling of jealous animosity which existed in the minds of a great majority of the aristocracy. It was in vain he endeavoured to ensure their confidence, by refusing all participation in the fruits of their victories,—thus showing that *self-aggrandisement* formed none of the objects of his ambition. Still they yielded with reluctance that obedience which his rank as Guardian entitled him to expect; and their language in private continued to be, "We will not have this man to reign over us."

Cumyn, whose conduct had hitherto been suspicious, had strengthened his interest at the English court, by means of a marriage which he contracted with the sister of Adomer de Vallance*, a cousin, and one of the principal favourites of Edward; and the Steward, brother to the knight of Bonkill, had made his peace with the invader, and taken the oath of allegiance. In consequence of which, according to the policy of the English monarch, though the tenantry of the Steward were arrayed against him, yet the banners of the family floated among those of the other vassals of the English crown, while the knight of Bonkill himself (who had but recently joined the standard of his country's independence) had as yet given no proof of the sincerity of his attachment to the cause. Under these circumstances, it became Wallace to be particularly circumspect in his movements, having to guard against the chance of treachery on the one hand, and a powerful adversary on the other; while his country's safety, and his own well-earned laurels, depended alike on the prudence of his conduct. We have already hinted at the great improbability of his appearing before so formidable an enemy, without having formed a regular plan of operation, and made provision for the contingencies that might occur. That he had arranged such a plan, and was prevented, by the jealousy of his colleagues, from putting it into execution, appears sufficiently obvious, even from the meagre details of which we are possessed. What this plan was, cannot now be fully ascertained; but if we may judge from the circumstances on record, we may infer that it was not his intention to risk a general engagement with the enemy at Falkirk, but merely to retire as they advanced, and to lead them as far as possible into the barren districts of the North, where their numerous cavalry would be rendered in a great measure unavailing. But the conduct of Cumyn, and the profitless display of valour on the part of Stewart, brought him unavoidably into contact with the enemy; respect for his own reputation prevented him from retiring, while part of his countrymen were so seriously engaged; and by remaining, he not only covered the retreat of the remains of Stewart's division, but also, by his commanding attitude, prevented the enemy from pursuing the fugitives with that destructive celerity which their numerous cavalry would have enabled them to do, had he acted otherwise. We have been induced to make these remarks, as Wallace is too rashly blamed for "remaining a passive

* Stowe.

† Observations on the Wardrobe Account of 28 Edward I. p. lx. The monastery of Cupar was also plundered on this occasion. By the inventory of Edward's jewels taken in 1300, there appear eighteen silver cups, and one silk girdle richly ornamented, which are stated to have been taken from the monastery of Cupar. This, no doubt, would form a part of the King's share of the booty.—Vide *Wardrobe Account*, p. 353.

* See Appendix, P.

spectator of the destruction of Stewart." This, according to the generality of writers, is the only stain upon his character. However, from a careful review of all the circumstances of the case, we can find no foundation whatever for the charge; on the contrary, taking into consideration the peculiarly embarrassing situation in which he was placed, we conceive that, during the whole of his brilliant career, the wisdom, talents, and patriotism of Wallace, never shone forth with more resplendent lustre than at the battle of Falkirk.

CHAPTER XVI.

STATE OF SCOTLAND AFTER THE RETURN OF EDWARD—VARIOUS EXPLOITS OF WALLACE—BALIOL DELIVERED OVER TO THE POPE—THE SCOTS BESIEGE STIRLING CASTLE—EDWARD RAISES AN ARMY FOR ITS RELIEF—THE ENGLISH BARONS REFUSE TO ACCOMPANY HIM—SURRENDER OF STIRLING CASTLE—CONDUCT OF CUMYRN.

On retiring with his army, as stated in the last chapter, Edward left behind him a considerable force to protect that part of Scotland which lay contiguous to England, and which he seemed determined, if possible, to annex to his own dominions. Although his invasion had been productive of very disastrous consequences to the Scots, they did not suffer so much on this, as they had done on former occasions. The judicious orders issued by the Guardian, for driving the cattle—which formed the principal part of their wealth—to inaccessible parts of the country, contributed not only to their safety, but also to the disappointment and distress of the enemy. On the retreat, therefore, of the grand army of Edward, the inhabitants were far from being that wretched and dispirited race, which they had appeared after the battle of Dunbar. Several of the chieftains, it is true, had repeated their oaths of fidelity to the invader, but the defection from the cause of liberty was by no means general. The principal places of strength, with the exception of Stirling, were in the hands of the Scots; and the impregnable fortress of Dumbarton*

* The strength and importance of Dumbarton castle is thus described by an English spy who visited Scotland during the regency of the Duke of Albany, and afterwards in the reign of James I. It would appear, that in those days the rock was completely surrounded by water at every influx of the tide.

—passe on forwarde to Dumbertayne,
A castell stronge and harde to obtayne.

In whiche castell S. Patryke was borne,
That afterwarde in Irelande dyd wyne,
About the whyche floweth, euen and morne,
The westerne seas without noyse or dynne,
Twyse in xxliii. houres without any fayle,
That no man may that stronge castell assayle.

Vpon a rocke so hye the same dothe stande,
That yf the walles were beaten to the roche,
Yet were it full harde to clymbe with foot or hande,
And so to wyne, yf any to them approche,
So stronge it is to get without reproche;
That without honger and cruell famyshemente,
Yt cannot bee taken to my iudgemente.

John Hardyng's Chronicle, p. 426.

had been given, by Wallace, in consequence of his services in the cause of his country, in charge to Sir John Stewart of Rusky, better known by the name of Menteth. This man had been present with Wallace at the burning of the barns of Ayr, as well as in many other situations of danger and difficulty. According to Henry, when the Guardian bestowed this charge upon him, he stipulated for the erection of a small house for himself within the fortress, in the building of which considerable progress had been made, when the English army entered Scotland. Some writers allege, that the reason, which induced Wallace to make choice of such a situation, was the great friendship which existed between him and Menteth, to whose society, they say, he was much attached, and which, by this means, he would have a better opportunity of enjoying. With this opinion, however, we cannot agree. That Menteth was high in the confidence of Wallace, is sufficiently evident from his appointing him to so important a trust—for, besides the governorship of the castle, his situation naturally gave him the command of a considerable part of the district of Lennox—yet we conceive that Wallace had other motives for selecting such a place of retirement, than the mere pleasure of enjoying the society of a friend, however valued that friend might have been. The hostility which he had excited in the breast of Edward by his conduct in Scotland, as well as by his invasion of England, gave him every reason to dread the revenge of that haughty and crafty potentate; while the vacillating character of a great proportion of the nobility—joined to that inextinguishable jealousy which existed against him in the minds of some of the most powerful families—made it both desirable and prudent to look out for a place where, in the decline of life, he might be secure from the attempts of his country's enemies, as well as the machinations of his own. The more immediate cause, however, may have been the safety of his surviving relations. The circumstance of so many of them having already suffered on his account, would, no doubt, make him consider it as a duty incumbent on him to provide for those that remained. His uncle, the parson of Dunipace, he had but recently relieved from a dungeon, into which the English had thrown him; and his mother had frequently been obliged to fly from the fortalice of Elderslie, in order to preserve herself from falling into the hands of the enemy. These we presume to have been the motives which induced him to stipulate for this little sanctuary, and not an overweening affection for the society of Menteth. His selection of him, however, for this purpose, shows the entire confidence he had in his fidelity.

With regard to the building itself*, we have it on record, that the workmen on one occasion had to desist from their operations, in consequence of

* On the summit of Dumbarton rock is to be seen the ruins of a building, known by the name of Wallace's house. Judging by what remains, it appears to have been of very limited extent, and though well calculated for security, would afford but scanty accommodation to the inmates. Its form is circular, and the site commands an extensive view; it, however, could make but a precarious resistance to an enemy possessed of the lower fortification. From the following lines in Barbour, it appears very probable that this was the place in which Lord William Soulis was detained

the English having taken possession of the town : they were, however, soon dislodged by Wallace, who surprised them at midnight, and drove them out with great slaughter. / This affair is supposed to have taken place after the battle of Falkirk*.

Aware that the approach of winter would render the conveyance of military stores almost impracticable, after his return to England, Edward lost no time in despatching to the castles of Stirling, Dumfries, Lochmaben, and the other fortresses in his possession, those necessaries of which they were most likely to be in want †. But the active and persevering character of the enemy he had to contend with, made him apprehensive that they would avail themselves of his absence, and the inclemency of the season, to recover the strengths they had lost in the last campaign ; and in this he was not mistaken, for winter had scarcely commenced, before Wallace and the Scottish regents

a state prisoner for life, in consequence of his conspiring against Robert Bruce :—

The lord the Sowllis has grantyt thar
The deid in to plane parlement,
Therefor sone etfre he was sent
Till his pennance to Dunbertane ;
And deid thar in a tour off stane.

The Bruce, Buke Threttene, 406—410.

* Henry states, that after Wallace had driven the English out of Dumbarton, which he accomplished by an ingenious stratagem put in execution at night, he proceeded towards the castle of Roseneath, which was occupied by the enemy, and having learned that a marriage was to take place among them on the ensuing day, he posted his men in ambush on the road between the castle and the church, situated on the "Garlouch" where the ceremony was to be performed. The cavalcade approached, accompanied by most of the soldiers of the garrison. The Scots, at the signal of their chief, burst from their concealment, and having with little difficulty overpowered and put their astonished adversaries to the sword, they took possession of the fortress, which they found amply supplied with provisions of all kinds, intended, no doubt, for the joyous occasion.

The above anecdote induces the writer again to remark on the accuracy of Henry's topography. If his work be not a faithful translation from the narrative of an eye-witness, his knowledge of the localities of the country is truly wonderful.

† For the gratification of the reader who may feel curious respecting the nature of the supplies required for the support and defence of an English garrison in the 13th century, we have made the following extract from the Wardrobe Account of the munitions, sent on this occasion to Stirling : viz. 1000 stockfish, 610 ling, 4 lasts herrings, 104 cheeses, 6000 onions, 30 cwt. tallow, 1 barrel honey, 11 barrels pitch, 20 lb. wax, 20 lb. cummin, 2 lb. crocus, 6 lb. round pepper, 10 bundles steel or iron, 4 large plates with handles, 100 dishes ditto, 100 cups, 100 salt-cellers, 2 large *balistæ*, (*de vicio*) 18 *balistæ*, (*ad unum pedem*) 18 doz. bow-strings, 50 bows, 2 furnace-stones, 22 cwt. hemp, 200 goose-wings for darts and arrows, 3 horse hides untanned, 6 bullocks do. ditto for the bottom of the engines, twine, thread, needles, 1 doz. parchment, 2 lb. inkpowder, 18 pieces cloth, for clothing the men, 1 piece blue cloth, being clothing for John Sampson, constable of the castle, 2 chaplains and 1 clerk, 1000 ells linen, 30 fur-skins for great-coats for the servants of the King's household, stationed in said garrison, 4 lamb skins for hoods for the use of said constable, chaplains, and 1 clerk, 240 pair shoes, and 500 ells canvas*.

* The above goods were sent by John the son of Walter, master of the vessel called the Godale of Beverley.

laid siege to, and recaptured, several places of importance.

During 1299, while hostilities were still going on, Baliol appears to have become an object of negotiation between the Pope and the English court, although the Pontiff had solemnly and repeatedly declared his fixed determination never to interfere in the affairs of Scotland ; assuring Edward of his conviction "that the Scots were a false and treacherous people," and that he believed they had a design against his life. Still his liege-lord held the King of Scotland in unmitigated captivity*, till, at the urgent entreaty of the Pope, he was delivered over to the Papal Nuncio, with liberty to dispose of him and his English possessions as the Pontiff thought proper. It is possible that the renunciation of the guardianship on the part of Wallace, conduced as much as any thing else to Baliol's release ; and it is likely that the crafty usurper conceived the measure might distract the regency, by exciting anew the jealous competition among the former claimants of the crown. If this were his intention he must have felt grievously disappointed on learning that the regents, awed, no doubt, by the watchfulness and influence of the late Guardian, continued to act in concert, and had even laid siege to the strong castle of Stirling, which he had been at such pains to repair and provision †. The vigour with which the operations against this fortress were carried on, soon com-

* It is very probable that Edward had evidence in his possession of the commission of regency he had granted to Wallace. The English monarch had too many secret emissaries in Scotland, to remain long ignorant of a matter of such importance. What Baliol might say to the contrary would therefore meet with little credit; and his apparent duplicity, no doubt, prompted the following remark, which, according to Walsingham, Edward made use of, on delivering him to the Nuncio. "*I send him to the Pope as a perjured man, and a seducer of the people.*"

† Independent of all the difficulties which Wallace had to encounter in the Low country, the turbulent state of the Highlands prevented him from receiving any assistance of consequence from that quarter. The chieftains there seemed to consider their interests as very little connected with the safety or independence of the Lowlanders ; and they carried on their feuds with as much inveteracy, as if no foreign enemy had been in the country. We find, that "about the year 1299, there was an insurrection made against the Earl of Ross, by some of the people of that province, inhabiting the mountains called Clan-Iver-Clan-Tall-wigh, and Clan-Leaive. The Earl of Ross made such diligence, that he apprehended their captain, and imprisoned him at Dingwall : which so incensed the Highlanders, that they pursued the Earl of Ross's second son, at Balmegown, took him, and carried him along prisoner with them, thinking thereby to get their captain relieved. The Monroes and the Dingwalls, with some others of the Earl of Ross his dependers, gathered their forces, and pursued the Highlanders with all diligence ; so, overtaking them at Bealloghne-broig, between Ferrindonell and Lochbrime, there ensued a cruel battle, well foughten on either side. The Clan-Iver-Clan-Tall-wigh and Clan-Leaive, were almost utterly extinguished. The Monroes had a sorrowful victory, with a great loss of their men ; and carried back again the Earl of Ross his son. The Laird of Kildun was there slain with seven score of the surname of Dingwall. Divers of the Monroes were slain in the conflict ; and among the rest, there were killed eleven of the house of Foulis, that were to succeed one another ; so that the succession of Foulis fell unto a child then lying in his cradle. For which service the Earl of Ross gave divers lands to the Monroes and Dingwalls."—*Conflicts of the Clans.*

pelled the besieged to despatch messengers to Edward to acquaint him with their situation ; and fully aware of the importance of the place, and determined to relieve it, the latter assembled his army at Berwick early in November. His barons, however, he found intractable. Certain charters had not been confirmed, and certain lands in Scotland had been gifted away to strangers without their consent, and contrary to his engagements ; in consequence of which they resolutely refused to proceed beyond Berwick, alleging, among other causes, the impolicy of undertaking a campaign beset with so many dangers, at such an advanced season of the year. Edward and his barons were alike obstinate, and the latter retired in dudgeon ; while he, in the same humour, marched forward with the remains of his army to the relief of Stirling. He had not, however, proceeded far, before he became acquainted with the numbers and formidable position occupied by the Scots. Thus circumstanced, he retraced his steps, and allowed the garrison to negotiate a surrender* ; in consequence of which, the castle was shortly after given up to Lord Soulis, one of the Regents, who placed it under the charge of Sir William Olifant, a brave knight, who proved himself in every respect deserving of the trust reposed in him.

John Cumyn, the other Regent, is said to have also gained advantages over the enemy, and to have, in other respects, conducted himself so as in a great measure to efface the remembrance of his former offences. Indeed, so well pleased were the generality of his countrymen with his proceedings on the commencement of the regency, that we find some of the old historians applying to him the epithet of the "*Gude Scottisman*." From this circumstance, some have supposed, that John Cumyn, the Regent here alluded to, was not the same who behaved with such treachery at the battle of Falkirk. In this opinion they at first sight appear to be countenanced by Wyntown, who styles him "*Jhon Comyn, that was Jhon Comyn's swn*," but, it must be recollected that there were three Cumyns of the name of John, father, son, and grandson.

The gleam of popularity which at this time shone out upon Cumyn, is not to be wondered at. Placed in a situation desirable, on account of the prospect it opened up to his ambition—and which he could only retain by a line of policy in unison with the spirit of liberty which his predecessor had infused into the people—he not only exerted himself against the common enemy, but used every effort in his power to gain the affections of his countrymen. His large possessions and great wealth, which, it is said, were never equalled by those of any family in Scotland, enabled him to relieve the people from various imposts necessary for the support of the government ; while the applications which the Regency made to France,

* In the Wardrobe Account, 28th Edward I., there is an entry of 6s. 8d. paid to Ralph de Kyrkby, the messenger who brought to the King the conditions and surrender of Stirling. The following notice respecting this intended expedition appears in the same document. "To a monk of Durham, to carry St. Cuthbert's banner into Scotland, when the King intended to go in person to raise the siege of Stirling Castle, 20 days, at 1s. per day." One of the vicars of Beverly College had 8d. per day for carrying St. John's banner, and 1d. per day to carry it back.

for troops to assist them in the defence of their independence, were answered by supplies of grain and wine, which, being a boon, were sold out to the people at half their current value.

This procedure would no doubt ensure him the good opinion of that class of his countrymen, who could not see the high price, which, in a national point of view, was paid for the comforts thus procured them. The more thinking party however, saw through the policy of France, in thus attempting to cajole the Scots with a few cargoes of wine, instead of fulfilling the terms of the treaty, offensive and defensive, that existed between them. From the dissatisfaction which this conduct, on the part of their allies, occasioned among the Scottish nobility, it was determined to send commissioners to France, to demand that assistance which they were bound to afford ; and, if unsuccessful, they were instructed to proceed to Rome, and lay their grievances at the feet of the Apostolic Father, and to solicit his interference to restrain the English monarch from renewing his aggressions upon their country.

CHAPTER XVII.

EDWARD AGAIN INVADES SCOTLAND—SIEGE OF CARLAVEROCK—MISCELLANEOUS OCCURRENCES DURING THE SIEGE.

The accounts which Edward was daily receiving of the progress of the Scots, determined him to renew hostilities, as soon as circumstances would permit. Having regained the good will of his barons, by a gracious compliance with their demands, by writs tested, on 29th December 1299, he summoned all who owed him military service in England and elsewhere, to attend at Carlisle on the feast of the nativity of John the Baptist.

1300 "On the day appointed," (1st July,) says an eye-witness* "the whole host was ready, and the good King, with his household, then set forward against the Scots, not in coats and surcoats, but on powerful and costly chargers, and, that they might not be taken by surprise, well and securely armed.

"There were many rich caparisons embroidered on silks and satins ; many a beautiful pennon fixed to a lance ; and many a banner displayed.

"And afar off was the noise heard of the neighing of horses ; mountains and valleys were every where covered with sumpter-horses and waggons with provisions, and sacks of tents and pavilions.

"And the days were long and fine. They proceeded by easy journeys, arranged in four squadrons."

The first squadron was led by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln †.

The second was under John, Earl of Warren and Surrey.

* Walter of Exeter, an historical bard, who accompanied the expedition, and of whose interesting work on the siege of Carliaverock Castle, written in old Norman French, an admirable translation has been given to the public, with notes and valuable biographical sketches, by *Nicholas Harris Nicolas*, Esq., a name highly appreciated by all who have any taste for the pleasures arising from antiquarian research.

† See Appendix, Q.

King Edward conducted the third squadron himself, and, says the fore-mentioned author, "brought up the rear so closely and ably, that none of the others were left behind. In his banner were three leopards courant of fine gold, set on red; fierce, haughty, and cruel; thus placed, to signify, that, like them, the King is dreadful, fierce, and proud to his enemies, for his bite is slight to none who inflame his anger; not but his kindness is soon rekindled towards such as seek his friendship or submit to his power." This part of his character, the Scots would not call in question.

The fourth squadron was led by "Prince Edward, a youth of seven^{ty}-^{five} years, and bearing arms for the first time. He was a well-proportioned and handsome person, of a courteous disposition, and intelligent; and desirous of finding an occasion to display his prowess. He managed his steed wonderfully well, and bore with a blue label the arms of the good King his father." John de St. John, an experienced warrior, was in close attendance upon the Prince, ready to instruct him in what his duty required.

Eighty-seven of the most illustrious vassals of the Crown of England, with their retainers, were in this array, including knights of Bretagne, Lorraine, and renegades of Scotland, among whom we find Alexander de Balliol, brother to the King of Scots, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and his son, Sir Simon Frazer, Henry de Graham, and Richard Sward. This formidable and splendid assemblage of feudal power, which completely filled the road from Newcastle, halted about nine miles south of Dumfries, for the purpose of besieging the Castle of Carlarverock, a stronghold belonging to Herbert Maxwell, chief of a powerful border clan of that name, and who had refused to surrender to a summons which Edward had sent forward. The siege of this place has been passed over, or very slightly noticed, by the historians of both countries. Langtoft merely says—

"A pouere hamlete toke,
The Castelle Karclauerok,"—

passing over, in this brief manner, a siege which not only engaged the attention of the King, but also interrupted the progress of his whole army.

The account which is given by Walter of Exeter, is not only valuable from its being the only well-authenticated description extant, by an eye-witness of the leaguer of any of the Scottish fastnesses during this period, but also from its being extremely interesting, by the minuteness of its details, and the graphic manner in which the author has portrayed the appearance and demeanour of the combatants. It would be doing the reader injustice to present it to him otherwise than in the nervous, elegant, and appropriate language of the accomplished translator.

"Carlarverock was so strong a castle, that it did not fear a siege, therefore the King came himself, because it would not consent to surrender. But it was always furnished for its defence, whenever it was required, with men, engines, and provisions. Its shape was like that of a shield; for it had only three sides all round, with a tower in each angle; but one of them was a double one, so high, so long, and so large, that under it was the gate, with a draw-bridge, well made and strong, and a suffi-

ciency of other defences. It had good walls, and good ditches filled to the edge with water; and I believe there never was seen a castle more beautifully situated; for at once could be seen the Irish sea towards the west, and to the north a fine country, surrounded by an arm of the sea, so that no creature born could approach it on two sides, without putting himself in danger of the sea.

"Towards the south it was not easy, because there were numerous dangerous defiles of wood, and marshes, and ditches, where the sea is on each side of it, and where the river reaches it; and therefore it was necessary for the host to approach it towards the east, where the hill slopes.

"And in that place by the King's commands, his battalions were formed into three, as they were to be quartered; then were the banners arranged, when one might observe many a warrior exercising his horse: and there appeared three thousand brave men at arms; then might be seen gold and silver, and the noblest and best of all rich colours, so as entirely to illuminate the valley; consequently, those of the castle, on seeing us arrive, might, as I well believe, deem that they were in greater peril than they could ever before remember. And as soon as we were thus drawn up, we were quartered by the Marshall, and then might be seen houses built without carpenters or masons, of many different fashions, and many a cord stretched, with white and coloured cloth, with many pins, driven into the ground, many a large tree cut down to make huts; and leaves, herbs, and flowers gathered in the woods, which were strewed within; and then our people took up their quarters.

"Soon afterwards, it fortunately happened, that the navy arrived with the engines and provisions;*

* For the sake of illustration, we submit the following items, taken from the wardrobe account of Edward I. for the year 1300, being part of the expenses incurred in the siege of Carlarverock:—

Extract from Wardrobe Account, Edward I., 1299-1300.

Account of Ade de Glasham, Carpenter, (p. 267.)

For hire of 7 carriages, for conveying a certain engine, belonging to the Castle of Lochmaben, from thence to the Castle of Carlarverock, for the use of the King's army, employed in the siege of that castle, viz.

5 carriages for 7 days, from	} at 6d. a day	for each	carriage. £. 1 1 6
6th July			
2 carriages for 4 days, from	} at 6d. a day—wages of assistant, 4d.	0 3 4
9th July			
4 days of a smith and his assistant, employed in the Castle of Lochmaben repairing said engine, at 6d. a day—wages of assistant, 4d.			0 1 0
Coals furnished for said repairs			0 1 0
Hire of one artilleryman for one day, making a band or strap for said engine at Carlarverock			0 0 4
			0 4 8
Paid for delivering said engine at Skynburness, and putting it on board a vessel for Lochmaben			0 4 0
			£. 1 10 2

Account of Stephen Banyng, Shipmaster, (p. 272.)
For freight of a certain engine, from Skynburness to Carlarverock—master's wages for 2 days, from July 10, at 6d. a day—10 seamen at 3d. a day £. 0 6 0

and then the footmen began to march against the castle ; then might be seen stones, arrows, and quarreaux, to fly among them ; but so effectually did those within exchange their tokens with those without, that in one short hour there were many persons wounded and maimed, and I know not how many killed.

“ When the men-at-arms saw that the footmen had sustained such losses who had begun the attack, many ran there, many leaped here, and many used such haste to go, that they did not deign to speak to any one. Then might there be seen such kind of stones thrown as if they would beat hats and helmets to powder, and break shields and targets in pieces ; for to kill and wound was the game at which they played. Great shouts arose among them, when they perceived that any mischief occurred.

“ There, first of all, I saw the good Baron Bertrand de Montbouchier, on whose shining silver shield were three red pitchers, with besants, in a black border.

“ With him Gerard de Gondronville, an active and handsome bachelor. He had a shield neither more nor less than vaire. These were not resting idle, for they threw up many a stone, and suffered many a heavy blow.

“ The first body was composed of Bretons, and the second were of Lorraine, of which none found the other tardy ; so that they afforded encouragement and emulation to others to resemble them. Then came to assail the castle, Fitz-Marmaduke, with a banner and a great and full troop of good and select bachelors.

“ Robert de Willoughby I saw bore gold fretty azure.

Account of Richard de Geyton, Master of the Nicholas de Geyton, (p. 273.)

For freight of 20 bullocks (*carcos' boum*) to Car-laverock, for the use of the garrison of Dum-fries Castle—wages of self and 5 seamen for 8 days, at the above rate £. 0 14 0

Pilotage between Kirkcudbright and Carlaverock, for that time 0 2 0
 0 16 0

Account of William Boterel, Master of the Grace of God of Ross, (p. 274.)

For freight of 5 tuns of wine (*doitia*) from Kirk-cudbright to Carlaverock—wages of self and 7 seamen for 10 days, from 19th to 29th August, as above 1 2 6

[N.B.—The engagement with 30 vessels, during this expedition to Scotland, appears to have been at the rate of 6d. a day for the master, and 3d. for the seamen, from 23d July till 26th September, 1300.—Admiral of the fleet, 2s. a day.—Captains of ships, from the ports of Sandwich and Dover, 1s.—Chaplain of the fleet, to con-fess sailors, 6d. a day, p. 275—8.]

Paid Robert de Wodehons, viz. (p. 259.) Paid Peter de Preston and his 9 companions, mounted on horses, with full harness, and charges of 660 bowmen, from Lancashire to Carlisle, and from Carlisle to Carlaverock, to join the king on 8th July, 2 days—horsemen at 1s.—bowmen 2d. a day £. 12 11 0

“ Robert de Hamsart I saw arrive, fully pre-pared, with five followers, holding a red shield by the straps, containing three silver stars.

“ Henry de Graham had his arms red as blood, with a white saltire and chief, on which he had three red escalop shells.

“ Thomas de Richmond, who a second time col-lected some lances, had red armour, with a chief and two gemells of gold. These did not act like discreet people, nor as persons enlightened by understanding ; but as if they had been inflamed and blinded with pride and despair, for they made their way right forwards to the very brink of the ditch.

“ And those of Richmond passed at this moment quite to the bridge, and demanded entry ; they were answered with ponderous stones and cornues. Willoughby in his advances received a stone on the middle of his breast, which ought to have been protected by his shield, if he had deigned to use it.

“ Fitz-Marmaduke had undertaken to endure as much in that affair as the others could bear, for he was like a post ; but his banner received many stains, and many a rent difficult to mend.

“ Hamsart bore himself so nobly, that from his shield fragments might often be seen to fly in the air ; for he, and those of Richmond, drove the stones upwards, as if it were rotten, whilst those within defended themselves by loading their heads and necks with the weight of heavy blows.

“ Those led by Graham did not escape, for there were not above two who returned unhurt, or brought back their shields entire.

“ Then you might hear the tumult begin. With them were intermixed a great body of the King's followers, all of whose names, if I were to repeat, and recount their brave actions, the labour would be too heavy, so many were there, and so well did they behave. Nor would this suffice, without those of the retinue of the King's son, great numbers of whom came there in noble array ; for many a shield, newly painted, and splendidly adorned, many a helmet, and many a burnished hat, many a rich gambezon, garnished with silk, tow and cotton, were there to be seen, of divers forms and fashions.

“ There I saw Ralph de Gorges, a newly dubbed knight, fall more than once to the ground from stones and the crowd, for he was of so haughty a spirit that he would not deign to retire. He had all his harness and attire masally of gold azure.

“ Those who were on the wall, Robert de Tony severely harassed ; for he had in his company the good Richard de Rokeley, who so well plied those within, that he frequently obliged them to retreat. He had his shield painted masally of red and ermine.

“ Adam de la Forde mined the walls as well as he could, for the stones flew in and out as thick as rain, by which many were disabled. He bore, in clear blue, three gold lioncels rampant crowned.

“ The good Baron of Wigtown received such blows, that it was the astonishment of all that he was not stunned ; for, without excepting any lord present, none showed a more resolute or unem-barrassed countenance. He bore, within a bordure indented, three gold stars on sable.

“ Many a heavy and crushing stone did he of Kirkbride receive, but he placed before him a

white shield with a green cross engrailed. So stoutly was the gate of the castle assailed by him, that never did smith with his hammer strike his iron as he and his did there. Notwithstanding there were showered upon them such huge stones, quarrels, and arrows, that with wounds and bruises they were so hurt and exhausted, that it was with great difficulty they were able to retire.

"As soon as they had retreated, he of Clifford, being advised of it, and like one who had no intention that those within should have repose, sent his banner there, and as many as could properly escort it, with Bartholomew de Badlesmere, and John de Cromwell, as those who could best perform his wishes; for whilst their breath lasted, none of them neglected to stoop and pick up the stones to throw them, and to attack.

"But the people of the castle would not permit them to remain there long. Badlesmere, who all that day behaved himself well and bravely, bore on white, with a blue label a red fess between two gemelles. Cromwell, the brave and handsome, who went gliding between the stones, bore on blue, a white lion rampant, double-tailed, and crowned with gold; but think not that he brought it away, or that it was not bruised, so much was it battered and defaced by stones before he retreated.

"After these two, La Warde and John de Gray returned there, and renewed the attack. Those within, who were fully expecting it, bent their bows and cross-bows, and prepared their espringalls, and kept themselves quite ready both to throw and to hurl.

"Then the followers of my Lord of Brittany recommenced the assault, fierce and daring as lions of the mountains, and every day improving in both the practice and use of arms. Their party soon covered the entrance of the castle, for none could have attacked it more furiously; not, however, that it was so subdued, that those who came after them would not have a share in their labours; but they left more than enough for them also.

"After these, the people of my Lord of Hastings assembled there, where I saw John de Cretinques in danger of losing a horse. When upon it, one came beneath pricking it with an arrow; but he did not seem to be dissembling, he used such haste to strike him. On his white shield he caused to be depicted a red chevron, with three mullets.

"He who bore a dancette and billets of gold on blue, John Deincourt by name, rushed on to the assault, and there extremely well performed his duty.

"It was also a fine sight to see the good brothers of Berkeley receiving numerous blows; and the brothers Basset likewise, of whom the eldest bore thus,—ermine, a red chief indented, charged with three gold mullets; the other, with three shells; found the passages straitened. Those within continually relieved one another; for always, as one became fatigued, another returned fresh and stout; and, notwithstanding such assaults were made upon them, they would not surrender, but so defended themselves, that they resisted those who attacked, all that day and night, and the next day until tierce. But their courage was considerably depressed during the attack, by the brother Robert, who sent numerous stones from the robinet, without cessation, from the dawn of the preceding day until the evening. Moreover, on the other side, he

was erecting three other engines, very large, of great power, and very destructive, which cut down and cleave whatever they strike. Fortified town, citadel, nor barrier—nothing is protected from their strokes. Yet those within did not flinch, until some of them were slain; but then each began to repent of his obstinacy, and to be dismayed. The pieces fell in such manner, wherever the stones entered, that when they struck either of them, neither iron cap nor wooden target could save him from a wound.

"And when they saw that they could not hold out any longer, or endure more, the companions begged for peace, and put out a pennon; but he that displayed it was shot with an arrow, by some archer, through the hand into the face; then he begged that they would do no more to him, for they will give up the castle to the King, and throw themselves upon his mercy. And the marshal and constable, who almost remained on the spot, at that notice forbade the assault, and these surrendered the castle to them."

The besieged, who had thus retarded the progress of this mighty host, were now passed in review before Edward, and, including all ranks, were found to amount to "sixty men," "who were," says our author, "beheld with much astonishment."—"They were all kept and guarded, till the King commanded that life and limb should be given them, and ordered to each of them a new garment."—"But this account of the treatment of the prisoners," says Mr. Nicolas, "differs entirely from that in the Chronicle of Lanercost, where it is said that many of them were hung."

The banner of Edward now waved on the battlement of Carlaverock Castle, along with those of St. Edmond, St. George, St. Edward, Sir John Segrave, the Earl of Hereford, and that of Lord Clifford, to whom Edward had given it in charge. The army then proceeded on their march*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WINCHELSEA, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, READS A BULL FROM THE POPE, IN THE ENGLISH CAMP BEFORE CARLAVEROCK—EDWARD'S ANSWER—EARL WARREN ADVANCES TO IRVINE—CRUELTY OF THE ENGLISH AT LESMAHAGO—EDWARD AGREES TO A TRUCE—WALLACE VISITS FRANCE—CAPTURES A FRENCH PIRATE—NOTICES OF LONGUEVILLE.

WHILE the English army were encamped before Carlaverock, Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, arrived with a bull, directed to Edward, from the Pope.

The application which, as has already been stated, the Scottish commissioners were instructed to make to King Philip for the stipulated assistance having at first been evaded, and afterwards finally refused—the embarrassing situation of his own affairs affording him a plausible pretext for withholding the aid necessary for the relief of his allies—the Scots, according to their instructions, proceeded to lay their complaints before the Court of Rome. Boniface listened with complacency to

* See Appendix, R.

their grievances, and readily undertook to interpose his authority in their behalf. For this purpose, he addressed to Edward a letter of admonition, exhorting him to desist from any further attempts to subvert the liberties of a kingdom over which he had no lawful claim. The groundless nature of the pretensions he had set up, the Pontiff proceeded, at considerable length, to explain—being, no doubt, enabled to do so, from the information furnished him by the commissioners. Among other matters, he reminded him, that the mere circumstance of his having negotiated with the Scots, for the marriage of his son with the heiress of Scotland, must prove fatal to any plea he might advance in favour of his being the feudal lord of that kingdom, as he would find no one weak enough to believe that he would have submitted to negotiate, when he had a right to command. "He also," says a respectable historian, "mentioned several striking facts which fell within the compass of Edward's own knowledge, particularly that Alexander, when he did homage to the King, openly and expressly declared in his presence, that he swore fealty *not for his crown, but for the lands which he held in England*; and the Pope's letter might have passed for a reasonable one, had he not subjoined his *own claim to be liege lord of Scotland*, a claim which had not once been heard of, but which, with a singular confidence, he asserted to be full and entire, and derived from the most remote antiquity." This letter Boniface concluded, by exhorting him, in his name, to set at liberty all those ecclesiastics and others belonging to the country whom he had imprisoned, and to remove all officers he had appointed to places of trust in the kingdom, contrary to the wishes of the people; directing him, if he conceived he had still any reasons to allege in support of his pretensions, to send persons properly authorized to Rome, where he, the Pope, would hear the case, and within six months give an impartial decision. To these exhortations the Archbishop added his own, urging, among other things, the propriety of his yielding obedience to so sacred an authority, observing, that Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens, and to cherish, like Mount Zion, those who trusted in the Lord. At the conclusion of this address, which was made in the presence of Prince Edward and the assembled nobles, the King became furious, and with a great oath exclaimed, "I will not be silent or at rest, either for Mount Zion or for Jerusalem, but, as long as there is breath in my nostrils, I will defend what all the world knows to be my right." On calmer reflection, however, he saw the necessity of returning a milder answer to the admonition of his adviser, in which he promised to consult his parliament, and send messengers to Rome to acquaint his Spiritual Father with the result of their deliberations.

In a parliament assembled some time after at Lincoln, the Pope's bull was submitted to the consideration of the English Barons; and in his reply, Edward attempted to prove the superiority of England by historical facts, deduced from the period of Brutus the Trojan, who, he said, founded the British monarchy in the age of Eli and Samuel. He then supports his position by all the events which passed in the island before the arrival of the Romans; and, after laying great stress on the extensive dominions and the heroic victories of

King Arthur, he vouchsafes at last to descend to the time of Edward the Elder, from which period he has chosen to begin his claim of superiority. He asserts it as a fact *notorious, and confirmed by the records of antiquity*, that the English monarchs had often conferred the kingdom of Scotland on their own subjects—had dethroned those vassal-kings who were faithful to them, and had substituted others in their stead. He displays, with great pomp, the full and complete homage which William had done to Henry II.—without mentioning the formal abolition of that extorted deed by King Richard, and the renunciation of all future claims of the same nature. Yet in this paper he begins with a solemn appeal to the Almighty, the searcher of hearts, for his own firm persuasion of the justice of his claim; and no less than a hundred and four barons, assembled in parliament at Lincoln, concurred in maintaining before the Pope, under their seals, the validity of the pretensions. At the same time, they took care to inform Boniface, that although they had justified their cause before him, they did not acknowledge him as their judge: the crown of England was free and sovereign; they had sworn to maintain all its prerogatives; and would never permit the King himself, were he willing, to relinquish its independence.

Edward, on leaving Carlaverock, now advanced into Galloway, and took several castles in that province. He appears to have been at Lochroieton on the 17th July, and at Kirkcudbright on the 22d of same month. On 29th August he returned to Carlaverock. He was at Dumfries on the 24th October, and again at Carlaverock on the 1st November*. His own operations appear, on this occasion, to have been in a great measure confined to the south of Scotland†. Detachments of his

* See account of the King's progress, page 67 of Remarks on Wardrobe Account of Edward I.

† The following items, which appear in the above Account for 1300, as having reference to this campaign, and to the manner in which Edward was employed, may be interesting to some of our readers.

Donation to Henry de Cornwall, wounded by the Scots near Columtach, in Galloway. For his return and medicines, by the hands of William de Toulouse, who lent him the money, one half merk (*dimidium marce*).

To a stable-boy, hurt by one of the King's horses at Kirkcudbright, five shillings.

Aims and Offerings at Scottish Chapels.

7th July.—At the altar of St. Nicholas, 7s., and St. Thomas the Archbishop, 7s.—in the parish church of Applegarth.

10th July.—At the high altar of the Friars Minors, Dumfries, 7s. and 16th, 7s.

12th July.—Do. of his own chapel at Carlaverock, at St. Thomas, 7s.

At the high altar, Kirkcudbright priory, and in his chapel there, July 19th, 7s.; 20th, 7s.; 22d, 7s.; 25th, 7s.; 27th, 7s. 29th August.—At his own chapel Carlaverock, 7s.

In his own chapel at Dumfries, October 24th, for good news about the Scots, 7s.; 28th, 7s.; November 1st, 7s.; and November 3d., at his own altar at Carlaverock, 7s.

14th Oct.—At his own chapel (Holm), for the report he heard of the success of the men-at-arms of the Castle of Roxburgh, 7s.

There is also, in the same year, an offering at the high altar of the Royal Chapel of Westminster, for good news against the Scots; and £s. 10s. 10d. for 100 masses in honour of different saints, by the King's chaplains, both in England and Scotland, between November 20th, 1299, and November 19th, 1300.

army, however, extended themselves in different directions; and various conflicts took place between them and the Scottish *guerilla* parties under Wallace. A strong division of the English army, commanded by the Earl of Warren, advanced also as far as Irvine, and came in contact with the Scottish forces, headed by the Regents. The *road* was keenly contested for some time; but the Scots were at last compelled to fall back before the repeated charges of their more numerous opponents. Another portion of the English army laid waste Clydesdale; and after destroying Bothwell, advanced to Lesmahago—to the Abbey church of which, a number of the inhabitants had fled for safety. This sanctuary, however, according to tradition, did not avail them. Their merciless invaders set fire to the sacred edifice, and many of the Scots perished miserably in the flames. During the perpetration of this tragic act, Wallace, who followed the tract of the destroyers, was forced, it is said, to conceal himself in a cave, four miles distant from the scene of barbarity, carefully watching, by his scouts, the motions of the enemy. This cave still goes by his name, and is pointed out by the country people as an object of curiosity to strangers.

While this warfare was carrying on by his detached squadrons, Edward was concerting measures for permanently annexing to his own dominions the district he had overrun. For this purpose, he employed numerous bodies of his own subjects, in repairing and fortifying the different places of strength which had surrendered to his arms; and the reluctance of the Scots to assist in the subjugation of their country, appears evident from his being compelled to bring labourers, at a considerable expense, from the northern counties of England*.

A large portion of the provisions required for

* The curious reader may perhaps take some interest in the following notices of the workmen employed about these fortresses, and the rate of wages they received for their labour. They are taken from the Wardrobe Account. The authenticity of the document is unquestionable.

Repairs at Lochmaben, October, 1300.

Oct. 24.	Hire of 44 ditchers (<i>fossatores</i>) from the neighbourhood of Lochmaben, (including one overseer at 6 pennies a day) for one day	£0 8 0
25.	Do. of 34 do. (including one overseer at 6 pennies a day) for 3 days	0 19 0
31.	Do. of 50 do. (including 3 overseers at 6 pennies each per day) for 4 days	1 17 4
Nov. 2.	Do. of one manager, at 6 pennies a day, and 178 ditchers, including 9 overseers from the county of Northumberland, for 3 days	4 15 0
	Paid William of Lochmaben, overseer, and 25 labourers from the neighbourhood of Lochmaben, for 3 days (from 27th of Octr.)	0 13 6
Nov. 2.	Hire of 76 labourers from Cumberland, including 4 overseers as above, by the King's order (<i>ad mandatum Regis</i>) for 1 day	0 13 4
	Do. of 4 men inspecting the work of said ditchers, from 23d till 30th October, 8 days, at 4 pennies a day each	0 10 8
	Do. of 7 women helping to clean the ditches for one day (Oct. 24) at 1½ pennies	0 0 10½

his troops he seems also to have been under the necessity of bringing from Ireland. Between Whitehaven and Carlaverock we find William de Torn, master of a vessel belonging to the Isle of Man, employed in carrying flour for the supply of the army. In the Wardrobe Account there is also an entry*, from which it may be inferred, that the destruction of the mills formed part of the system which the Scots resorted to for the annoyance of their enemies†.

As the campaign had hitherto been productive of no result adequate to the expense incurred, Edward now affected to listen to the remonstrances of

Do. for 9 women (Oct. 27) 3 days at 1½ d.	0 3 4½
Do. for 10 (Oct. 28)	} as above 0 3 4½
Do. for 14 (Oct. 29)	
Do. for 25 (Oct. 30)	0 3 1½
Extra gratification to said ditchers, being King's bounty	1 5 7
Carriage of workmen's tools from Northumberland, through Carlisle to Dumfries	0 10 0
Hire of 2 smiths from said county, from 17th Oct. till Nov. 1st, 16 days, at 4 pennies a day	1 1 4
	£13 4 1½

Amount paid to Henry Braundeston, for Ade de St. Edmunds.—See page 269 of Wardrobe Account.

Hire of 2 men employed in Inglewood-forest, making charcoal for the smiths, 4 days, 2s.

* Paid Simon Kingesman, master of the Margaret of Kipavene, for freight of 30 quarters of wheat from Kirkcudbright to Dublin, to be ground there, and carriage of the same to Ayr, for the use of the King's army in that place—Wages for self and 12 seamen, from 2 till 15 August, both included, 15 days

Wages for self and 12 seamen, from 2 till 15 August, both included, 15 days	£2 9 0
To the same, for pilotage of said vessel	0 6 8
	£2 15 8

Paid Wewmund Gegge, of the Savoy of Tynemouth, freight of 143 quarters of wheat, from Kirkcudbright to Whitehaven, to be ground, and carriage of the same to Ayr, for the King's army in that place—Wages for self and 9 seamen, 5 till 14 August, both included, 10 days

Wages for self and 9 seamen, 5 till 14 August, both included, 10 days	£1 7 6
---	--------

[N.B. Wages of master 6d. and seamen 3d. per day, during the expedition to Scotland in 1300.]

Average wages per day, viz.

Labourers	2d.	Carpenters	4d.
Plasterers	3d.	Smiths	4d.
Miners	3d.	Boys, or Apprentices	2d.
Masons	4d.		

Price of Oats per quarter.

1300. Jan.	At Holderness	2s. 2d.	p. 212
— July.	At Newcastle-upon-Tyne	2s. 6d.	p. 113

Price of Wheat per quarter.

1300. June.	At Cawode, near York	4s.	p. 108
-------------	----------------------	-----	--------

Prices in Scotland in 1285.

Oats 4d., and Bear 8d. and 10d. per boll. Wheat 16d. and 20d.†

† From the following entry in the Wardrobe Account, it would appear, that in this expedition the English were provided with nets for fishing in the rivers and lakes of Scotland. "*Reginaldo Janetori pro 2 retibus emptis, per ipsum ad piscandum in repariis et stagnis in partibus Scocie ad opus Regis per manus proprias, apud Kirkcudbright.*" 4s. 2d. Vide *Wardrobe Account for the year 1300.* p. 65.

† It has been already stated (page 2) that the money of both countries was of equal value at this time.

Philip and Boniface, and agreed to a truce with the Scots in arms against him. The negotiation took place at Paris between the English envoys and the Scottish commissioners at the French court, and was finally ratified by Edward at Dumfries on the 30th October, 1300, when he expressed himself highly offended with the English envoys for allowing Baliol's name, as King of Scotland, to appear in the treaty. This truce was to last from Hallowmas to Whitsunday* ; and in consequence of it, all the English troops except those in garrison were withdrawn from Scotland and disbanded. Edward then summoned his parliament at Lincoln, and returned the answer to Boniface to which we have already alluded.

1301. After the conclusion of the treaty, Wallace is supposed to have gone on a visit to France, in consequence of the repeated invitations of Philip, who was no doubt anxious to behold a man whose name had become familiar at every court in Europe, and whose exertions in his own country had so often relieved himself from the hostile visits of the King of England.

On his way, the vessel in which he had embarked along with a few select friends, is said to have been attacked by a noted pirate of the name of Longueville, at that time the terror of the seas, and the Paul Jones of his day. After a desperate conflict, Wallace and his party succeeded in boarding the enemy ; and Longueville, being vanquished in a personal combat with Wallace, surrendered at discretion. The gallant manner, however, in which he acted during the fight, gained him the esteem of our hero, who subsequently discovered that he was a French nobleman, and, at one time, high in favour at court, but who had fallen under the displeasure of the King, in consequence of having killed a knight in the royal presence ; for which offence his estates were forfeited, and himself banished from the kingdom. Smarting under these indignities, he had commenced a system of piracy, for which he was outlawed, and every avenue to the royal clemency shut against him. Wallace, on arriving at Paris, found himself so well received by the French monarch—who no doubt expected his assistance against the English in Guienne—that he ventured to solicit, and, after some difficulty, obtained a pardon for Longueville, who had accompanied him to Paris in disguise.

Various stories are told of the adventures of Wallace in France ; but as the histories of that country are in general silent regarding them, most of our authors have considered them fabulous ; and some even carry their incredulity so far as to doubt of his ever having been there. But as he appears evidently, on one or more occasions, to have withdrawn himself from Scotland, and as those writers who doubt of his being in France have not accounted for the chasms that his absence naturally makes in his history, nor appear to have anything to urge against his visits to that country but their doubts ; we cannot allow unsupported *misgivings* to stand in opposition to the recorded testimony of ancient writers, who ought to have known more of transactions near their own days than authors who write many ages after them—particularly as the circumstance in question could serve no political or party purpose at the time ; and of course, could

afford no temptation for mis-statement. We may also remark, that the adventure with Longueville is corroborated by traditions still existing in the country, as well as by the fact of a family in Scotland, not long extinct, having derived their pedigree from that brave man ; who, according to the law of arms in those days, thought himself bound to follow the fortunes of his conqueror. Longueville is said to have accompanied Wallace to Scotland, where he had lands assigned him ; and the following notice in the Statistical Account of the parish of Kinfauns, goes a considerable way to establish the truth of what is here related :—“ In the castle of Kinfauns is kept a large old sword, probably made about five hundred years ago, and to be used by both hands. It is shaped like a broadsword, and is five feet nine inches long, two and a half inches broad at the hilt, and of a proportionate thickness, with a round knob at the upper end, near eight inches in circumference. This terrible weapon bears the name of *Charteris's Sword*, and probably belonged to Sir Thomas Charteris, commonly called Thomas de Longueville, once proprietor of the estate of Kinfauns. Sir Thomas Charteris, *alias* Longueville, was a native of France, and of an ancient family in that country. If credit can be given to accounts of such remote dates, when he was at the court of Philip le Bel, in the end of the thirteenth century, he had a dispute with, and killed a French nobleman, in the King's presence. He escaped, but was refused pardon.

“ Having for several years infested the seas as a pirate, known by the name of the Red Reiver, from the colour of the flags he carried on his ship, in May, 1301 or 1302, (by Adamson's chronology,) Sir William Wallace, in his way to France, encountered and took him prisoner. At Wallace's intercession, the French King conferred on him a pardon, and the honour of knighthood. He accompanied Wallace on his return to Scotland, and was ever after his faithful friend, and aiding in his exploits. Upon that hero's being betrayed and carried to England, Sir Thomas Charteris retired to Lochmaben, where he remained till Robert Bruce began to assert his right to the crown of Scotland. He joined Bruce, and was, if we may believe Adamson, who refers to Barbour*, the first who followed that King into the water, at the taking of Perth, January 8, 1313.

“ Bruce rewarded his bravery by giving him lands in the neighbourhood of Perth, which appear to be those of Kinfauns, and which continued in the family of Charteris for many years. It is to

- * “ That tyme wes in his campy
A knycht off France, wycht and hardy ;
And quhen he in the watyr swa
Saw the king pass, and with him ta
Hys leddyр wнаbasytly,
He saynyt him for the ferly,
And said ; ‘ A Lord ! quhatt sall we say
Off our lordis off Fraunce, that thai
With gud morsellis fayrcis thair pawncnis,
And will bot ete, and drynk, and dawnsis ;
Quhen sic a knycht, and sa worthy
As this, throw his chewalky,
Into sic perill has him set,
To wyn a wrechyt hamillet !
With that word to the dik he ran ;
And our efre the king he wan.”

* Wyntoun.

The Bruce, *Buke Seat*, p. 177-8.

this ancient knight, and to the antique sword above-mentioned, that Adamson refers in these lines (Book VI.) of his 'Muses Threnodie :'

—'Kinfauns, which famous Longoveit
Sometime did hold; whose ancient sword of Steele
Remains unto this day, and of that land
Is chiefest evident.'—p. 158.

"About forty years ago, upon opening the burying vault under the aisle of the church of Kinfauns, erected by this family, there was found a head-piece, or kind of helmet, made of several folds of linen, or some strong stuff, painted over with broad stripes of blue and white, which seems to have been part of the fictitious armour wherein the body of Sir Thomas Longueville, or Charteris, had been disposed*.

"Some persons of the surname of Charteris," says the editor of the Perth edition of Wallace, "lairds of Kinfauns, and of Cuthilgourdy, were provosts of Perth, and would make a distinguished figure in the heroic annals of Perth, if the old writs of that city were properly displayed."

According to the same authority there were families of the name of Charteris in Scotland, long before the time assigned to Thomas de Longueville. Andrew de Charteris, who swore fealty to Edward in 1296, is said to have been the ancestor of the noble family of Wemyss.

CHAPTER XIX.

EDWARD AGAIN INVADES SCOTLAND—SIR SIMON FRAZER DESERTS THE ENGLISH, AND JOINS HIS COUNTRYMEN—WALLACE RETURNS TO SCOTLAND—BATTLE OF ROSLIN.

The truce which circumstances had extorted from Edward, was no sooner expired, than the campaign was opened by a fresh invasion of Scotland. The English army again advanced as far as Linlithgow, where, fixing their head-quarters, they commenced building a fortress for the same object as had induced them to rear similar structures in the south. The treaty of peace had not yet been concluded with the King of France; and Edward anxiously endeavoured to detach him from the interests of the Scots. In this he was successful; for, by giving up his allies, the Flemings, to the chastisement of Philip, and sacrificing a lucrative branch of trade, in order to gratify his enmity against the Scots, he obtained the King of France's consent to a separate peace, stipulating only for a truce with Scotland, to endure till St. Andrew's day, 1302,—after which period, Edward was left at liberty to prosecute his views against that country.

In the mean time, the cause of independence acquired a valuable accession in the person of Sir Simon Frazer, who at last—awakened to the

* This circumstance is thus corroborated by a note attached to the Perth edition of Wallace. The editor, it would seem, had been present on the occasion:

"About thirty years ago, when the burying vault of the parish church of Kinfauns happened to be opened, I was showed a helmet made of thick leather, or of some such stuff, painted over with broad stripes of blue and white, which I was told was part of the fictitious armour in which the body of Thomas of Longueville had been deposited. Henry says, he was of large stature, and the helmet, indeed, was a very large one."—P. 24 of Notes in 3rd volume.

injuries of his country, and a just sense of his own unnatural conduct—deserted the standard of Edward, and enrolled himself among the asserters of the liberty of Scotland*. The talents and bravery of this leader more than counterbalanced the loss which the patriots had sustained in the defection of the Bishop of Glasgow; who, on the 7th October, 1300, at Holmcoltrum, had renewed his former fealty to Edward, swearing upon the consecrated host, and upon the *Croyz Gneytz*† and *Black Rood* of Scotland; in consequence, as is supposed, of remonstrance from Boniface, who now thought proper to espouse the interest of Edward.

On hearing of the situation of Scotland, Wallace withdrew from the French court, and returned home. What services he was enabled to render his country during his absence, do not appear in any of our records.

1302. After the expiry of the truce, Edward sent John de Segrave with an army of 20,000 men into Scotland, who, having advanced to the neighbourhood of Roslin, divided his troops into three divisions, for the purpose of procuring forage. In the mean time, John Cumyn and Simon Frazer, having collected a body of eight thousand Scots, suddenly fell upon the first division, which they defeated with great slaughter. While engaged in collecting the spoil, the second division came in sight, on which the Scots, elated with the success they had already obtained, stood resolutely to their arms, charged, and, after a desperate conflict, again drove their enemies from the field. After this double victory, the Scots, exhausted with the fatigues of the day, were preparing to refresh themselves, when their scouts brought notice that the third division of their enemies was at hand. Their leaders flew from rank to rank, beseeching them to make one effort more to preserve the glory they had acquired; and having equipped the followers of the camp in the arms of their slain enemies, they again commenced the bloody strife, with that enthusiasm which the remembrance of their former victories inspired. The fury of the Scottish charge decided the third battle: the English were once more thrown into confusion, and fled in the greatest terror, leaving behind them all their camp-equipage a prey to the conquerors. The advantages resulting from this day's successes were not thrown away: the Scots every where flocked to the assistance of their countrymen; and the fortresses which Edward possessed in the south of Scotland, were quickly recovered, and garrisoned by their lawful masters.

Respecting the events of this day of triumph for the Scottish arms, the historians of the two countries are not exactly agreed. According to Langtoft, Sir John de Segrave, with his son and

* See Appendix, S.

† The *Croyz Gneytz* was held in great veneration, in consequence of its being supposed to contain part of the wood of the real cross. The *Black Rood* of Scotland was one of the national monuments carried off by Edward. Its sanctity was considered equal to that of the *black stones* of Iona; and an oath made upon it, gave the same stability to a contract. It was the favourite crucifix of Queen Margaret. The cross was of gold, about the length of a palm—the figure of ebony, studded and inlaid with gold. A piece of the true cross was also supposed to be enclosed in it.

Aldred, p. 349, *apud Twisden*.—*Hailes*, vol. i. p. 41.

brother, were surprised in their beds by the Scots, who captured sixteen knights, among whom were Sir Thomas Neville and Sir Ralf de Cofferer, the treasurer of Edward, who, on interceding with Sir Simon Frazer for his life, was sternly reminded by him of the defalcations he had committed in his office, by defrauding himself and others of their wages. Having upbraided him with his un priestly conduct, he struck off his hands, as being polluted with the wages of iniquity, and afterwards severed his head from his body, by a blow with his sword.

CHAPTER XX.

SECOND VISIT OF WALLACE TO THE FRENCH COURT—ENCOUNTERS AN ENGLISH PIRATE—THE ENGLISH AGAIN ENTER SCOTLAND—SUBMISSION OF THE NOBLES—WALLACE RETURNS—CONFLICTS WITH THE ENGLISH—EDWARD DESTROYS AND CARRIES OFF THE RECORDS OF THE MONASTERIES—MARCHES THROUGH THE COUNTRY—WALLACE FOLLOWS THE INVADERS.

THERE is no certain account of Wallace having been present at the battle of Roslin:—if he was, it must have been only in a private capacity, he not being mentioned by any author as holding a command on that occasion. According to some, he was absent from the country at the time; but this, however, seems to be contradicted by the *Scotichronicon*, where it is said, that, *after* the battle of Roslin, he went on board of a merchant vessel, and, with a few companions, again sailed for France. Henry, whose strong partiality would not have omitted so excellent an opportunity for aggrandizing his hero, had there been any authority in the narrative of Blair for so doing, passes over the circumstance in silence. This conduct in an author so strongly biassed in favour of the subject of his biography, is not only a proof of the absence of Wallace from the field of Roslin, but a strong argument in favour of the general accuracy of his own details. The laurels, therefore, that were gathered at Roslin, will fall to be divided between Sir Simon Frazer and the lord of Badenoch.

That Wallace returned a second time to the court of France, is asserted in the most positive manner by the *Minstrel*, and is in part corroborated by the *Scotichronicon*. The particular periods of his history, however, which those visits occupied, it is rather difficult to ascertain. That the first occurred after the battle of Falkirk is without doubt; and the second immediately before, or soon after the affair of Roslin, is almost equally certain. As, in the first voyage, Wallace is said to have fallen in with and captured a French pirate; in the second, he is represented as having a similar encounter with an Englishman of the same profession, who carried on his depredations principally against the Scottish vessels. Had the *Minstrel's* work been one of pure fancy, this *sameness* of incident, we presume, would not have occurred;—for the judgment of the poet would no doubt have suggested the propriety of a change of adventure. The English pirate, who is called John of Lyn, is first seen by the Scots, making his way out of the Humber, displaying a red sail, and a flag at his

mast-head bearing three leopards courant, the well-known insignia of Edward. The Scottish merchants, who knew his ferocious disposition, were appalled at first; but encouraged by Wallace and his companions, they prepared themselves for action, by stuffing sheep-skins with wool, which appears to have been their cargo; and thus making a kind of defensive armour, to protect them against their better equipped assailants. On their refusing to surrender, the battle commenced by a heavy discharge from bows and cross-bows on the part of the English; and the Scots, who were not so well supplied with missiles, kept themselves as much as possible out of the way of the shot, till it was nearly expended;—when, laying their vessel alongside of the enemy, Wallace and his companions threw themselves on board the pirate, and attacked the crew with the greatest fury. The commander, seeing the desperation of the Scots, and the havoc they were making amongst his men, would gladly have made off; but the sword of Wallace was not to be evaded. The two leaders, therefore, engaged, and after a short rencounter, John of Lyn was cut down by his opponent, and his men submitted to the conqueror. In this conflict none distinguished themselves more than Longueville, and John Blair, the chaplain of Wallace—the latter of whom, with three successive arrows, shot three of the enemy, and otherwise conducted himself with the greatest heroism. As it would not have been becoming in Blair to have narrated such deeds of himself, we are told by Henry, that the account of them was inserted in the memoir of Wallace by Thomas Gray, who acted as steersman on the occasion. In this there is consistency, as we are elsewhere informed, that Gray occasionally assisted in writing the achievements of the champion of the Scots*.

On arriving “in the Sloice-hawyn,” says Henry, Wallace made a division of the spoil among his followers, and, presenting the merchants with the ship, took his departure for Paris.

The reception he met with from Philip is reported to have been highly flattering; and our hero soon became involved in a number of adventures, all sufficiently romantic; but as the French histo-

* In Dr. Jamieson's edition of *Blind Harry*, this circumstance is thus printed:—

“Bot maister Blayr spak nothing off himsell,
In deid off armes quhat awentur he fell.
Schir Thomas Gray was than preyst to Wallace,
Put in the buk how than hapnyt this cace
At Blayr was in, [and] mony worthi deid,
Off quihilk him self had no plesance to reid.”

B. x. 893—898.

In the Perth edition of Wallace, the words in the third line stand thus:—“*I Thomas Gray, yan preist to Wallace,*” &c. On this reading, the Perth editor, with propriety, founds a very strong argument in favour of the *existence* of Blair's work, and of the fidelity of Henry's translation. The difference in the two editions appeared so very important, as to induce a friend of the writer to refer to the original manuscript in the *Advocates' Library*, when it was found that the rendering of the Perth editor was strictly conformable to the original text, “thus affording,” as the above-mentioned friend observes, “a triumphant argument in Henry's favour; for it seems to represent him as in the very act of versifying his ‘auctor.’” What authority Dr. Jamieson has for the version he has given, must remain with himself to explain.

rians appear, from their silence, to have been ignorant of them, we must refer the curious reader to the pages of the Minstrel. We shall only remark, that it has been asserted by various writers, that the name of Wallace was frequently found in the songs of the ancient Troubadours. This, however, may have arisen as much from the fame he had acquired in his own country, as from any chivalrous exploits he had performed in France. But in whatever manner he was employed in the service of Philip, the proceedings of Edward soon recalled him to his native land.

The mortification which the reverses at Roslin occasioned the King of England, was greatly increased by the praises that were every where bestowed upon the gallantry of the Scots: and the noise which their triple victory made at the different courts of Europe, excited a deeper and more determined inveteracy in his mind. It is probable, that, but for the discomfiture at Roslin, the resolution which he had so long displayed, of reducing Scotland to subjection, might have gradually given way before the reflections occasioned by the immense losses which he had sustained in his various expeditions*; and perhaps he would have contented himself with retaining possession of that part of Scotland which bounded his own kingdom. The defeat, however, of his lieutenant, and the subsequent proceedings of the victors, awakened afresh all the rancorous hostility of his ambitious and unprincipled mind; and he resolved, by one mighty effort, to overwhelm the Scots, and efface their name from the number of the nations. In order to accomplish this project, all the ultramarine vassals of his crown were summoned to his standard. In his own kingdom of England, large levies of men and horses were raised, and the din of preparation was heard from one extremity of the land to the other. A powerful fleet was also equipped, to attend the motions of the land army, and prevent the chance of scarcity from interfering with that work of destruction he had in contemplation.

1303. Wallace heard with sorrow, of the mighty preparations that were making for the annihilation of his country's independence; and he resolved again to join his old associates, and brave along with them the fury of the storm that was about to burst upon their heads. To his friends, who listened with increasing apprehension to the progress of the coming war, the hope of his return came like a sunbeam through the tempest that was blackening around them. Before, however, the French monarch would permit his departure, the countless host of the invader had crossed the Tweed, and spread its desolating squadrons over the adjacent country †; and those places which manifested the

slightest disposition to defend their liberties, were consigned to indiscriminate carnage. Among the few which made any resistance, the castle of Brechin appeared eminently conspicuous. Under the command of the governor, Sir Thomas Maule, this garrison maintained a most heroic defence, and did not give in till the death of their commander obliged them to surrender.

Wherever the army of Edward now appeared, the chieftains were found anxiously waiting to tender their submission, and again repeat their oaths of allegiance. Some of the principal nobility, in order to claim the merit of an early repentance, even met the invader on the borders, and thus procured more advantageous terms than they otherwise would have obtained. Among those who thus started for the goal of slavery, few shared more largely in the wages of iniquity than Sir John Menteith. Having met Sir Aymer de Valance at Annan, he found means to acquire so much of his confidence, as to induce that favourite of Edward to obtain for him, not only a confirmation of the governorship of Dumbarton castle, but also an extension of his authority, over the whole of the district of Lennox.

While affairs were in this situation, accounts were brought to the English camp, that the bugle of Wallace had been heard at midnight among the woods on the banks of the Tay; and a body of troops, under the command of Sir John Butler, were despatched in pursuit of him. This officer, two of whose relations had already fallen by the hand of Wallace, set forward with alacrity to execute the service assigned to him. But, after ranging the country in all directions, he was at last obliged to return without having once seen the object of whom he was in search, although the reports brought him by his scouts, as well as the evasive answers of the inhabitants, convinced him of the certainty of Wallace being in the country.

In the early part of our narrative, we alluded to the admirable discipline which Wallace had introduced among his countrymen, and the facility with which, by the sound of his horn, he could rally them around him in cases of emergency. From the frequency with which these calls had been made, there was scarcely a district in Scotland

That Scottis men mycht do na thing
That euir mycht pleyss to thar liking.
Thar wyffis wuld thai oft forly,
And thar dochtrys disputisly:
And gyff ony of thaim thair at war wrath,
Thai watyt hym wele with gret scaith;
For thai suld fynd some enchesone
To put hym to destructione.
And gyff that ony man thaim by,
Had ony thing that wes worthy,
As horsse, or hund, or othir thing,
That war pleasand to thar liking;
With rycht or wrang it wald have thai.
And gyff ony wald them withsay,
Thai suld swa do, that thai suld tynne
Othir land or lyff, or leyff in pyne.
For thai dempt thaim eftir thair will,
Takand na kep to rycht na skill.
A! quhat thair dempt thaim felonly!
For gud knychtis that war worthy,
For litill enchesoune, or than nane,
Thai hangt by the nekbane."

* See Appendix, T.

† The havoc made, and the oppressions sustained by the inhabitants, are thus described by Barbour, p. 9, vol. i. of *The Bruce*.

" Fra Weik anent Orkenay,
To Mullyrs nwk in Gallaway;
And stuffyt all with Ingliiss men.
Schyrreffys and ballyheys maid he then;
And alkyn othir officeris,
That for to govern land afferis,
He maid off Ingliiss nation;
That worthyth than sa ryche felle,
And sa wykkyt and cowatouss,
And swa hawtane and dispitouss,

where his war-note was not understood and obeyed with alacrity. Though this was the case, we do not mean to say, that all who attended its summons were animated by pure and disinterested patriotism. To the ears of many, it probably sounded only as an invitation to divide the property of their more wealthy enemies; whom—under so daring and fortunate a leader—they never doubted of being able to conquer; and it is likely that they would have obeyed the call with the same promptitude, had it summoned them to a foray against some neighbouring clan: but the generosity with which he divided his own share of the booty among those who had suffered most, or had borne themselves with the greatest gallantry in the conflict, gained him a complete ascendancy over the discordant materials of which his little armies were frequently composed; and rendered him more formidable to an invader, than all the jarring aristocracy put together. It is therefore not surprising that the report of his return should have caused alarm among the English.

On the night referred to, Wallace had landed in Scotland, accompanied by Sir Thomas de Longueville, John Blair, Thomas Gray, and a few other friends who had attended him in France; and being near one of his old places of resort, he wished to gain some knowledge of the state of the country, to enable him to regulate his further proceedings; for this purpose he raised his bugle, and before the reverberations had died away among the woodlands, a rustling was heard among the underwood, and presently an unarmed Scot stood before him. From this ready adherent, who had been watching the landing of the party, Wallace learned the situation of the kingdom, the slaughters committed by Edward, the submission of the regency, and the terror that pervaded the nobility. Finding, from the number of the English that were in the neighbourhood, the necessity of betaking himself to some place of concealment, he and his party were conducted by their informer to a farm-house in a secluded part of the country, occupied by a relation of Wallace, of the name of Crawford. Here he was joyfully received, and a hiding-place artfully constructed in the barn, for him and his companions, where they lurked during the search made for them by Butler.

In this retreat they might have remained, till some favourable occurrence had enabled them to appear more openly; but it seems the unusual quantity of provisions which Crawford was obliged to purchase for the maintenance of his guests, awakened the suspicions of the English at Dundee; and on his return, having mentioned the examination he was subjected to, Wallace and his party thought it prudent to retire to a neighbouring thicket, and wait the result. They had not long adopted this precaution, before a body of the English made their appearance; and having surrounded the dwelling of Crawford, they discovered, in the course of search, the lair of the fugitives.

The wife of Crawford having refused to answer their inquiries regarding the route of her visitors, they were proceeding, by violent measures, to compel her to disclose the place of their retreat, when Wallace, ascertaining the danger to which she was exposed, advanced from the thicket, and sounded a bold defiance to the enemy. The situation he had chosen was such as could only be

assailed from three narrow and rugged paths. These he proposed to guard, by dividing his little party, which consisted only of about twenty men, into three divisions;—with the smallest of these he undertook to defend the path that was most exposed to the enemy's attacks. Butler was not long in commencing the assault, which he did by a simultaneous movement on all those little parties of the Scots. The resistance, however, which he met with, aided by the rugged nature of the ascent, rendered all the ardour of his troops unavailing. As the evening advanced, he called them off; and having beat a chamade, he attempted to persuade Wallace to surrender, by representing the folly of continuing a resistance which must at last terminate in the ruin of himself and his friends. Our hero replied, by advising him to stand to his arms; for in place of surrendering, he intended, before morning, to become the assailant; and he gave him this warning, in return for the care which he had shown for himself and his companions. Irritated by this coolness, Butler determined to take every precaution to prevent his escape; and for this purpose he kept his men under arms all night. Wallace, however, was as good as his word; for at daybreak, under cover of a thick mist, he descended at the head of his little band, and, before the enemy was aware of his approach, broke into that quarter where Butler had his station. The surprise occasioned by his sudden appearance, threw the English into confusion, which their uncertainty as to the number of their assailants greatly increased; and availing himself of the disorder into which they were thrown, Wallace pressed forward, and came in contact with Butler, who, after a slight resistance, fell beneath his arm. The Scots having forced their way through the enemy, Wallace now discovered that their faithful host Crawford had been left behind. Returning, therefore, to the charge, he was fortunately in time to save him from the spear of an English soldier, whom he slew; and grasping his wounded friend in one of his arms, he carried him off in triumph to his companions. Favoured, by the denseness of the fog, the gallant little band were soon lost to their pursuers. Though thus relieved from their perilous situation, they are said to have suffered the greatest privations in the wild and unfrequented solitudes to which they were now obliged to retire. However, their indefatigable chief, always fertile in expedients, found means to preserve them from actual starvation, till Edward withdrew his troops, for the purpose of resuming his march of subjugation throughout the kingdom.

The time which the English monarch spent in the southern part of Scotland, it appears had not altogether been employed in the chastisement of those who were most active in the late insurrection. With a policy worthy of himself, he endeavoured to obliterate the remembrance of national independence, by ransacking the monasteries, and carrying off, and committing to the flames, all the ancient records they contained; so that the Scots in future might have no documents to produce which could falsify his claims to sovereignty over them*. In this proceeding he might have been

* On the charge which has been made against Edward, for destroying the records and monuments of Scotland, Lord

partly influenced, by the discussion he had been engaged in with Boniface. Having, to his spiritual

Hales thus expresses himself:—"While the English were at Scone, they carried off some of the charters belonging to the abbey, and tore the seals from others. This is the only well-vouched example which I have found of any outrage on private property committed by Edward's army. It is mentioned in a charter of Robert I.; and we may be assured that the outrage was not diminished in the relating." Had this escaped from any other pen than that of a lawyer, it might have been considered as proceeding from ignorance; but being from a Judge on the Bench, we are at a loss what term to apply to it. The charter of Robert I. (Chart. Scone, 26.) was given in order to confirm former grants, and thus replace those which either had been carried off, or had their seals torn from them. To have inserted a narrative of all spoiliations of a similar nature, which Edward and his army had committed in Scotland, would have been *irrelevant*; and we conceive that the expense of engrossing into a *private* charter what belonged to the annals of the country, would not have been relished by the brethren of Scone. Had a case of expenses, incurred, in a manner so uncalled for, come under his Lordship's review, we presume he would have sustained the objections of the defender. All that could appear with propriety in the charter, was an account of the destruction of those prior grants, which rendered a new charter necessary; and this document, if it proves any thing, proves the wanton and destructive malice of the invaders, when they would not permit even private property, the destruction of which could be of no service to themselves, to escape their violence. It would be of no avail, where Lord Hales is concerned, to quote Scottish authorities in support of the charge against Edward, as a destroyer of public records; we shall therefore give the following extract, from the works of a learned, intelligent, and candid Englishman—an evidence which, we presume, few of his Lordship's admirers will object to:—"King Eugene VII., about the beginning of the eighth century, is said to have ordered the depositing of all records, and books relating to the history of Scotland, at Icolm-kill; where he caused their old library (much neglected and decayed) to be pulled down and rebuilt in a very splendid manner, for this sole use and purpose. How long they continued there, and how well that excellent King's design was answered, I know not; but it is now too sad a truth, that most of these venerable remains of antiquity are quite perished; and it is generally agreed, that they were destroyed on three remarkable occasions. The first of these was, when our King Edward the First, having claimed the sovereignty of Scotland, made a most miserable havock of the histories and laws of that kingdom; hoping that, in a short time, nothing should be found in all that country, but what carried an English name and face. To this end, he forbade, on severe penalties, the keeping of any such books or records; and proceeded so far as even to abolish the very name of Claudius Cæsar in his famous round temple, which he ordered to be called, as it is to this day, Arthur's Hoff, pulling away the stone which preserved the memory of that great emperor and his conquests. That a great deal of this story is true, appears from the scarcity of Scotch records in our State-archives in England. Amongst the foreign treaties in the Exchequer, there are about 70 original instruments, bagged up, and inscribed, 'Scotia ante Unionem.' And in the Tower, about 100 Rolls, relating to the affairs of that kingdom, under the title of Scotia. The former of these begin at the reign of Edward the First, and end with that of Queen Elizabeth; and the latter commences as before, but falls no lower than the reign of Edward the Fourth, the rest being to be looked for in the Chapel of the Rolls. But these are all the produce of our own country; and, instead of enriching us with the spoils of our neighbours, seem rather to prove, that King Edward had an equal spite at the ancient records of both kingdoms—so little is there of apology to be made for so notorious a destroyer of the public registers,

father, so solemnly asserted the justice of his claim, it was but natural that he should wish to possess or destroy every evidence which might establish his asseverations; and this object being, as he conceived, so far accomplished, he proceeded with his army, by slow marches, towards the North, exercising the same Gothic barbarity as he went along, and demolishing those fortresses which made any show of resistance.

According to Henry, a number of the old associates of Wallace, before his return from France, had fled for shelter to the islands and other places for security. Seton, Lauder, and Lundy retired to the Bass. Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, and Sir Niel Campbell, had sought concealment along with Bishop Sinclair in Bute*; and these last mentioned worthies, on hearing of the arrival of Wallace, despatched a messenger to find him out, and explain the difficulties of their situation, and their readiness to join him as soon as he approached their present places of refuge. They had not to wait long, before our hero issued forth with his little band, and collected those who were still inclined to struggle for the liberties of Scotland. At the head of such he followed the invading army, and appearing now in front, and now in rear, made frequent and impressive attacks upon them as they struggled through the deep and rugged defiles of the country. But all his efforts could not retard the march of the invaders. They advanced to the extremity of the kingdom, unmolested by any save the hardy followers of our hero, who, however, as they had attended the motions of their foes in their laborious progress through the rough and mountainous regions of the North, now waited their return, and resumed the same harassing system of warfare. Often, from an eminence, Edward could

together with the private monuments, evidences, and conveyances of lands! I do not doubt but the reason of such barbarity has been justly enough assigned, by those who represent him as 'having a jealous eye over any thing that might encourage his new vassals to rebel, endeavouring to root out all memorials of the nobility, and to embase their spirits, by concealing from them their descent and qualities.' I have seen a manuscript list of such records as were carried off by his order. It begins, *Ista monumenta subscripta capta fuerunt in thesaurario de Edinburg in presentia Abbatum de Dunfermelyn & de S. Cruce de Edinburg, & Johannis de Lythebranes, Guil-de Lincoln, & Thos. de Fisseburn & Guil-de Dumfries, custodis rotulorum regni Scotie; et deposita sunt apud Berwick per præceptum Edwardi regis Angliæ & superioris domini Scotiæ. Videlicet, &c.* After the recital of them, the catalogue ends: *In quorum omnium testimonium tam predictus dominus rex Edwardus Angliæ & superior dominus Scotiæ quam predictus dominus Joh: de Balliolo rex Scotiæ, huic scripto, in modum chirographi confecto, sigilla sua alternatim fecerunt apponi. dat. apud Novum Casirum super Tynam 30 die mensis Decembris anno dom. 1292, & regni predicti domini Edwardi regis Angliæ & superioris domini Scotiæ, 21mo.* The second great loss of the Scotch records happened upon the mighty turn of the Reformation; when the monks, flying to Rome, carried with them the register-books, and other ancient treasure of their respective monasteries. The third, and killing blow, was given them by Oliver Cromwell, who brought most of the poor remains that were left into England; and they likewise were mostly lost in their return by sea." See *Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library*, p. 71, 72, 4to edition.

* It is possible that these noblemen may have been some way or other connected with the depôt of silver, alluded to at page 32, as having been found at Ascog in Bute.

distinguish the lofty plume of the Scottish leader, as he dashed forward to charge some isolated corps of the English army; and while he beheld the enthusiasm with which his conduct inspired his followers, and saw the disorder of his own soldiers, hurrying to gain the protection of the main body, his heart misgave him as to the stability of his conquest, while Scotland contained a man whose appearance alone was capable of inspiring his friends with so much confidence, and his enemies with so much dread.

CHAPTER XXI.

EDWARD'S POLICY RESPECTING THE SETTLEMENT OF SCOTLAND—ENDEAVOURS TO GAIN WALLACE TO HIS INTEREST—SIEGE OF STIRLING—IT SURRENDERS—CONDUCT OF EDWARD TOWARDS THE PRISONERS—HALIBURTON UNDERTAKES TO BETRAY WALLACE.

EDWARD having returned from the bleak regions of the North, took up his quarters in Dunfermline*, judging that his presence in the country, during the winter, would contribute much towards establishing his authority, as he had formerly observed, that the places he had conquered from the Scots in summer, were generally retaken when the severe weather set in. He accordingly took every precaution for the comfort of his troops; large supplies of provisions being ordered, both by sea and land, that his army might not be placed in such difficulties as had formerly compelled him to retreat into England.

In order, also, to secure his present conquest, he began to assimilate the state of the country as much as possible to that of his other dominions; and, for this purpose, he abrogated all the old laws and customs—substituting those of England in their stead†. In the prosecution of this object, he announced a parliament at St. Andrew's, which was attended by all Scotsmen of any note, except Sir William Wallace, Sir Simon Frazer, and Sir William Oliphant, governor of Stirling Castle, the latter of whom refused either to appear or surrender the trust, which had been committed to him by Lord Soules, who happened then to be in France. Of this fortress, which was now the only one that held out against him, Edward determined to gain possession as soon as the season would permit. As to Wallace, it is said, that, at

* If we may credit Langtoft, Comyn, Frazer, and Wallace were lurking in the neighbourhood of Dunfermline at the time, and supported themselves by plunder. His words are,

“The lord of Badenauh, Freselle & Wales
Lyuad at theus lauh euer robband alle weis.
Thei had no sustenance, the werre to mayntene,
Bot skulked opon chance, & robbed ay betuene.”

† “He brint all the Chronicles of Scotland, with all maner of bukis, als weil of devyne seruce as of othir materis, to that fyne that the memorye of Scottis suld peris. He gart the Scottis wryte bukis efter the use of Sarum, and constraunt thaim to say efter that vse.”—Boeth.

“Salysbery oyss our clerkis than has tane.”
Wallace, B. x. 1006.

this time, among other great offers, he tendered him the crown of Scotland, provided he would accept of it in fee of the crown of England; to which, with his usual dignity, Wallace replied, that as he had been born a free man, he was determined to die one; and that he preferred rather to be the subject of his lawful sovereign, than the crowned slave of one who had no right to his allegiance*. That Edward was sincere in this offer, is a matter of considerable doubt;—he had already cajoled others by similar proposals, and he might naturally conceive, that although Wallace should not be caught by the bait, the offer would have the effect of exciting the suspicions of his countrymen, and thereby weakening his influence among them. But whatever his motives may have been, Wallace sternly rejected all compromise, and remained the only Scotsman who never acknowledged his authority. On the present occasion, Sir Simon Frazer followed his example, for which the tyrant passed sentence of banishment and outlawry against him. This gallant gentleman, who now adhered to the fortunes of Wallace, had given great offence to Edward, by the conspicuous part he had acted at the battle of Roslin, as it was generally believed to have been owing principally to him that the English sustained the mortifying defeat.

1304. Early in the spring Edward discovered, that, through the exertions of Wallace and Frazer, a body of troops had been got together; in order to disperse which, before it became too formidable, he took the field, and proceeded towards Stirling, in the neighbourhood of which it had assembled. The force under the patriots, however, when compared with the enemy, was so very insignificant, that they prudently retreated to their former places of refuge. On the 21st April the siege of Stirling commenced, and continued without intermission till the 24th July; thus occupying Edward and his army for three months and three days, during which time every artifice was put in practice, and every piece of mechanism then known was directed against the besieged.

The stubbornness of the garrison, however, seemed to increase as the means of annoyance multiplied around them; and the anxiety of Edward to gain this last strong hold of the liberties of Scotland was displayed, by his close and unremitting

* Fordun relates, that when this offer was made to Wallace, and on his being pressed by his friends to comply, he thus expressed himself:—“O! desolated Scotland, too credulous of fair speeches, and not aware of the calamities which are coming upon you! If you were to judge as I do, you would not easily put your neck under a foreign yoke. When I was a boy, the priest, my uncle, carefully inculcated upon me this proverb, which I then learned, and have ever since kept in my mind:—

‘Dico tibi verum, Libertas optima rerum;
Nunquam servill sub nexu vivito, fili.’

‘I tell you a truth,—Liberty is the best of things, my son, never live under any slavish bond.’

“Therefore, I shortly declare, that if all others, the natives of Scotland, should obey the King of England, or were to part with the liberty which belongs to them, I and those who may be willing to adhere to me in this point, will stand for the liberty of the kingdom; and by God's assistance, will only obey the King, viz. John Baliol, or his Lieutenant.”

attendance on the details of the siege. Though now advanced in years, he is represented as exposing himself with all the imprudent gallantry of a youthful warrior; and on one or two occasions he had nearly fallen a victim to his temerity. While riding near the walls, a stone, from one of the engines at work on the rampart, struck the ground before him with so much violence, that his horse backed, and fell under him; and at another time, a javelin, thrown by a soldier on the wall, struck him on the breast, and stuck between the plates of his armour. The point of the missile, however, had not pierced the skin. Pulling it out with his hand, he shook it in defiance, and loudly proclaimed that he would hang the villain who had hit him. In the mean time, the engines belonging to the castle were so well managed, and the enormous stones which they threw, so skillfully directed, that great numbers of the besiegers were destroyed.

Edward now saw, that, without still greater efforts, the place was not likely soon to capitulate. He therefore wrote to London, and other towns in England, ordering the most powerful engines to be sent him, with supplies of javelins, quarrells, and other missiles; and the lead was torn from the roof of the Cathedral of St. Andrew's to furnish materials for the siege. Thirteen engines of the largest size were at last brought to bear upon the castle, one of which, called by Langtoft "the Ludgare *," or Lurdare of Strivelyn," was of the most formidable description. This "hidous engyn," when put in operation, made tremendous breaches in the walls, which the besieged in vain attempted to repair; and after many destructive sallies, and "fulle and hard affrays," and a siege unparalleled in the history of the war—their provisions exhausted, and their walls torn to pieces—Sir William Oliphant and his brave little garrison were forced to surrender at discretion. Every possible indignity which a tyrannical mind destitute of generosity, and exasperated by opposition, could inflict, was now heaped upon the gallant defenders. They were compelled to go in procession to the tent of Edward, and—denuded of every garment save their shirts, their heads and feet uncovered—on their bended knees, with uplifted hands, had thus to implore his clemency; upon which their *magnanimous* conqueror condescended to spare their lives, and sent them to expiate their offences in the dungeons of England. The garrison, according to Langtoft, consisted of Sir William Oliphant, Sir William Duplin, twenty gentlemen of inferior degree, a preaching friar, a monk, and thirteen "maydens and ladies." The common soldiers are said to have amounted to 140, whose names, it is to be regretted, have not been preserved. The following are all that remain on record:—

Domini Willielmus Olyfard.	Domini Thomas de Knell-
Willielmus de Dupplyn,	hulle.
milites.	Thomas Lellay.
Fergus de Ardrossan.	Patricius de Polleworche.
Robinus de Ardrossan,	Hugo Olyfard.
frater ejus.	Walterius Olyfard.
Willielmus de Ramseya.	Willielmus Gyffard.
Hugo de Ramseya.	Alanus de Vypont.
Radulfus de Haleburton.	Andreas Wychard.

Domini Godefridus le Botiller.	Frater Willielmus de
Johannes le Naper.	Johannes le Scherere.
Willielmus le Scherere.	Keth, ordinis Sancti
Hugo le Botiller.	Dominici Prædicato-
Johannes de Kulgas.	rum.
Willielmus de Anart.	Frater Petrus de Ederes-
Robertus de Ranfru.	ton de domo de Kelson,
Walterus Taylleu.	ordinis Sancti
Simon Larmerer.	Benedicti.

The proceedings of Edward at length gave umbrage to Cumyn and Bruce. These chieftains, after Baliol, had the nearest pretensions to the crown, and they had both been amused by Edward with hopes of the kingdom. In the destruction, however, of the fortresses, and the alterations he had made in the constitution of the country, they saw little that tended towards the fulfilment of the promises he had made them. Cumyn, therefore, having found an opportunity, broke the matter to Bruce, by lamenting the state to which their country was reduced by the power or policy of Edward, who endeavoured to sow discord among those whose interest it was to be friends; and by taking advantage of the animosities he thus excited, furthered his own ambitious and tyrannical designs.

These remarks begat the confidence of his rival, who communicated without reserve the promises that had been held out to him by Edward; which drew from Cumyn a proposal for the delivery of their country, in which he offered to give Bruce his estates, on condition that he relinquished his claim, and assisted him to gain the crown; or to accept of Bruce's estates on the same terms. Bruce, who considered his claim to be better founded than that of Cumyn, agreed to make over his estates on attaining to the kingdom through the assistance of Cumyn; and a private bond was entered into between them for this purpose*. In

* The existence of the bond or covenant between Bruce and Cumyn, though subjected to the doubts of Lord Hailes, is recorded by all our respectable authorities. The objections of his Lordship arose from the difficulty the parties would have experienced in effecting the contract. "It must be held extraordinary," says our learned annalist, "that the two conspirators met together, should have committed such a secret to writing, as if it had been a legal covenant to have force in a court of justice; but more extraordinary still, that they should have done this at the imminent hazard of intrusting their lives and fortunes to the fidelity of a third party; for I presume, it will be admitted, that two Scottish barons, in that age, could not have framed such an indenture without assistance." His Lordship, in his zeal to diminish the authority of preceding historians, often forgets the manners and customs of the age respecting which he writes, and assimilates them too closely to those of his own times. Were it not for this, he would have seen neither difficulty nor danger in two barons of such extensive territorial possessions and feudal influence, procuring a person properly qualified, and whose secrecy, had it been doubted, they would have had no hesitation in *effectually securing*, either by imprisonment or otherwise. Even if their power did not extend to this, as the bond was not left in the possession of the drawer, where was the danger? Would any person whose education enabled him to frame such an instrument, have been so extremely foolish as attempt to charge two of the most powerful noblemen of the kingdom with treason, without the least shadow of proof to support the accusation? Bonds of manrent were never intended to be brought into a court of law, and all his Lordship's expe-

* This is evidently a corruption of *Loup de guerre*.

order to cover their intentions, Bruce agreed to accompany Edward to London, and leave his brother, Edward Bruce, to attend to his interest in Scotland.

The English monarch having now, as he thought, completely depressed the spirit of the Scots, and brought them effectually under his yoke, began to make preparations for his return to England; and with this view, he appointed Adomer de Valence regent or viceroy of the kingdom, filling all places of trust with Englishmen, or such creatures among the Scots as he found suitable to his purpose. Having made these, and such other arrangements as his policy suggested, he returned home in triumph, firmly persuaded that he had finally reduced the kingdom of Scotland to the condition of a province of England.

rience would not have furnished him with a single instance of an attempt to enforce the fulfilment of such a contract by legal means. Bonds of this kind were entered into for the purpose of strengthening the feudal connections of the parties; and infidelity under such compacts carried its punishment along with it, by the want of confidence it created among the other feudal proprietors. That such bondsmen were looked upon with extreme jealousy by the Legislature, is sufficiently evident from the conduct of James II. towards Lord Douglas; "a court of justice," therefore, was not the place to get their penalties recognized.

The transaction is thus related by Wyntown, with whom Barbour agrees in every particular, and by which it will be seen, that "the two conspirators" did not "meet together," as his Lordship asserts, but were riding together to Stirling; and the instrument was drawn and sealed the same night in that place:—

"Quhen all this sawe the Brws Robert,
That bare the Crowne swne eftyrwart,
Gret pytté of the folk he had,
Set few wordis tharof he mád.
A-pon á tyme Schyr Jhon Cwmyn,
To gydder rydand frá Strevelyln,
Said til hym, 'Schyr, will yhe noucht se,
How that governyd is this cuntré?
Thai sla oure Folk but enchesown,
And haldis this Land agayne resown;
And yhe thar-of full Lord suld be.
For-thi gyve ye will trow to me,
Yhe sall gere mak yhow thare-of Kyng,
And I sall be in yhoure helpyng,
Wyth-thi yhe gyve me all the Land,
That yhe hawe now in-til yhoure hand,
And gyve that yhe will noucht do swá,
Na swilk a State a-pon yhowe tá,
All hale my Landis sall yghowris be;
And lat me tá the State on me,
And bryng this Land owt of Thryllage.
For thare is nother man ná page
In all this Land na thayne sal be
Fayne to mak thaimse selfyn fre."

"The Lord the Brws had his karpynge,
And wend he spak bot faithful thyng:
And for it lykyd til his will,
He gave swne his Consent thare-til,
And sayd, 'Synne yhe will, it be swá,
I will blythly a-pon me tá
The State; for I wate, I hawe Rycht:
And Rycht oft makis the febl wrycht.'

"Thus ther twa Lordis accordyt are.
That ilke nycht than wrytynne ware
Thare Indentwris, and Aithis made
Til hald all, that thai spokyn had."

V. ii. p. 123.

Edward, however, had scarcely arrived in London, before accounts from the North convinced him of the uncertain nature of his conquest, so long as Wallace remained at large in the country; and as neither threats nor promises could subdue his inflexible fidelity to the liberties of his native land, large rewards were offered for securing his person, dead or alive. Influenced by the great promises held out to him, Ralph de Haliburton*, one of

* It is with regret that we find this recreant's name in the list of the defenders of Stirling. Emancipation from a dungeon, and the prospect of attaining to great riches, were no doubt powerful motives. Whether the following relation in Henry has any subsequent connection with this individual, we must leave our readers to determine. If it does, he appears to have received from the hand of our hero the recompence of his labours.

The small party of adherents which still clung to the fortunes of Wallace and the cause of independence, were reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions. Our hero had left them, in order to look out for a place where they might obtain supplies; and, while wandering through the wilds of Lorn, overcome by hunger and fatigue, he threw himself down in despair at the entrance of a forest, when the following adventure occurred to him:—

"Out off thair sycht, in till a forest syd,
He sat him doun wndyr ane ayk to bid;
His bow and suerd he lenyt till a tre,
In angwyss greiff, on grouff so turned he.
His petows mynd was for his men so wrocht,
That off him seiff liltill as then he roucht.
'O wrech!' he said, 'that neuir couth be content
Off our gret mycht that the gret God the lent:
Bot thi fers mynd, wyfull and wariable,
With gret lordschip thou coud nocht so byd stable;
And wyfull witt, for to mak Scotland fre;
God likis nocht that I haiff tane on me.
Fer worthyar of byrth than I was born,
Throuch my desyr wyth hungyr ar forlorn:
I ask at God thaim to restor agayn;
I am the caus, I suld haiff all the pain.'
Quhill studeand thus, whill fitand with him sell,
Quhill at the last apon slepyng he fell.
Thre days befor thar had him folowed fyve,
The quhill was bound, or ellis to loss thair lyff:
The erl off York bad thaim so gret gardoun,
At thai be thyt hecht to put Wallace doun.
Thre off thaim was all born men off Ingland,
And twa was Scottis, that tuk this deid on hand;
And sum men said, thar thrid brothir betrayed
Kyltromé eft, quhar gret sorow was raised.
A child thai had, quhill helpyt to ber mett
In wldernes among thai montans grett.
Thai had all seyn disseyuing off Wallace
Fra his gud men, and quhar he baid on cace;
Amang thyk wod in cowert held thaim law,
Quhill thai persawt he couth on sleping faw.
And than thir fyve approcht Wallace neir;
Quhat best to do, at othir can thai speir.
A man said thus: 'It war a hie renoun,
And we mycht tqwyk leid him to Sanct Jhonstoun,
Lo, how he lysis; we may our grippis wall;
Off his wappynys he sal get nane awaill.
We sall him bynd in contrar off hys will,
And leid him thus on baksyd off yon hill,
So that his men sall nothing off him knaw.'
The tothir thre assentit till his saw;
And than thir fyve thus maid thaim to Wallace,
And thoct thourc force to bynd him in that place.
Quhat, trowit thir fyve for to hald Wallace doun?
The manlyast man, the starkest off persoun,
Leyffand he was; and als stud in sic rycht,
We traist weill, God his dedis had in sycht.

the prisoners whom Edward had carried with him into England, undertook the perfidious office, and for that purpose was allowed to return to Scotland. Of his after proceedings, we have, however, but a very imperfect outline; and from all that we can collect, his exertions in his villainous mission appear to have been limited to one or two attempts; in the last of which, from his knowledge of Wallace and his retreats, he contrived to have him beset by a strong body of cavalry, in a situation where he had no way of escape, but by springing his horse over a precipice. This he effected; and his pursuers, drawing back with horror, left him to pursue his retreat on foot, his gallant steed having perished in the fearful enterprise.

After this, it is supposed that Haliburton, alarmed for the consequence of his conduct, and dreading the vengeance of his countrymen, returned with precipitation to England.

CHAPTER XXII.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY—BRUCE INVITED TO TAKE THE CROWN—CONDUCT OF CUMYN TOWARDS BRUCE—NOTICE OF CUMYN—TRADITION RESPECTING THE CLAN CUMYN—NOTICE OF KERLE—WALLACE BETRAYED BY MENTEITH.

THE situation of Scotland, after the departure of Edward, was such as well warranted the representation that had been transmitted to England. Though there had as yet been no open insurrection, still there was that in the bearing of the people, which betokened any thing but good will towards the existing state of things. The national sports and customs of the English, which it had been attempted to introduce among them, were shunned and disregarded by the oppressed and scowling population; while those chiefs who had formerly shown the greatest attachment to the cause of independence, were seldom heard of, except when discovered holding their conferences in those sequestered retreats, where they considered themselves secure from all, save the wandering spies employed by the faithless part of their own countrymen.

Thai grippyt him, than out off slepe he braid;
 'Quhat menys this?' rycht sodandly he said,
 About he turnyt, and wp his armys thrang;
 On thai traytouris with knychtlik fer he dang.
 The starkast man in till his armys hynt he,
 And all his harnys he dang out on a tree.
 A sword he gat son efter at he rayss,
 Campiounlik amang the four he gais;
 Euyr a man he gert de at a dynt.
 Quhen twa was ded, the tothir wald nocht stynt;
 Maid thaim to fle; bot than it was na but,
 Was nane leyffand mycht pass fra him on fut.
 He folowed fast, and sone to ded thaim brocht;
 Than to the chyld sadly agayn he socht,
 'Quhat did thow her?' The child with [ane] pail face,
 On kneis he fell, and askyt Wallace grace.
 'With thaim I was, and knew nothing thair thoct;
 In to serulce, as thai me bad, I wrocht.'
 'Quhat berys thow her?' 'Bot meit, the child can say.'
 Do, turrs it wp, and pass with me away,
 Meit in this tym is fer bettyr than gold.'

Wallace now saw that the state of the country required a different remedy from that which had hitherto been applied. Baliol, whom he had acknowledged as his righteous sovereign, though detained a prisoner in England, had, through the menaces of Edward, made over to that monarch his right to the crown and kingdom of Scotland. This act, in the opinion of Wallace, released him from his allegiance to one who had all along acted a part unworthy of his attachment; for, though he admitted his right to resign the crown, yet he could not recognise a right to transfer it to a stranger, to the exclusion of the lawful heir; and as Edward, the son of Baliol, was also the prisoner and tool of the King of England, he naturally fixed his attention on Bruce, as the person best fitted, from his birth and talents, to infuse that confidence in the people which necessarily arises from the presence of a person invested with lawful authority. Having found no difficulty in impressing Sir Simon Frazer, and those other chiefs who adhered to him, with the same sentiments, a negotiation was entered into with Edward Bruce, for inviting his brother from England to assume the crown; and it is also said, that a special herald* from Wallace and his confederates found his way to Bruce in disguise, who appointed to meet with our hero on a certain night on the burrow-muir of Glasgow.

1305. In the meantime, Wallace and his friends were active in organizing the insurrection, which was to burst forth as soon as Bruce appeared among them, and who was at the same time to have been proclaimed king. How far Cumyn was consulted on the occasion, by Wallace and his associates, does not appear. From the very little intercourse which seems to have subsisted between them since the fatal battle of Falkirk, it is highly probable that the accession of our patriot and his party, to the proposal for placing Bruce on the throne, was communicated to Cumyn through the medium of Edward Bruce—the fiery temperament of whose mind was not always in unison with those maxims of sound policy necessary for conducting affairs of such moment. Whether Cumyn had ever been sincere in the agreement entered into with the Earl of Carrick, or whether he afterwards repented of the bargain he had made, is a point not easily to be ascertained; but with a duplicity worthy of his conduct on a former occasion, he is said to have despatched the bond between himself and Bruce to Edward; urging, at the same time, the arrestment of his rival, as necessary to prevent the disturbance that was on the eve of breaking out in Scotland.

It might be considered by our readers an omission, were we to bring our labours to a close, without embodying in our pages a more particular account of this subtle and talented baron, than what has hitherto appeared in the course of the narrative. To obviate this objection, perhaps the following brief outline, in addition to what has already been stated, may suffice.

John Cumyn, or as he is called by the Gaël, *Ian Ruadh Mhac Ian Ruadh Chiumein* (Red John, the son of Red John Cumming), was Lord of Badenoch, Lochaber, and other extensive districts, and

* According to Henry, Gilbert Grymsby, or, as he is called by the Scots, Jop, was employed in this mission.

the head of the most potent clan that ever existed in Scotland. His power was more formidable than any of his fellow-competitors for the crown. Upwards of sixty belted knights and their vassals were bound to follow his banner; and the influence of the family was such, that during the minority of Alexander III., after driving from Scotland a strong faction, formed and supported by the interest of England, the Cumyns and their adherents negotiated a treaty with Llewellyn, a prince of Wales. In this instrument, John, the father of the subject of the present notice, appears as Justiciary of Galloway. This document is preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 653. Those, however, who may not have access to that work, may have their curiosity gratified, by referring to Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 424.

It is uncertain at what time John Cumyn succeeded to his father. He appears, however, in 1289, as joint agent along with James the Steward, in the letter of the community of Scotland, directed to Edward I., from Brigham. According to Henry, he was married to a cousin of the King of England; and this, from all authorities, seems to have been the case, for he espoused Joan, the sister of Aymer de Valence, whose father, William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was uterine brother to Henry III. With this powerful connexion, he no doubt expected a different decision in the submission respecting the throne of Scotland. This disappointment, in all probability, made him afterwards more ready to join the insurrection under Wallace; and if it had not been for the odium which he afterwards drew upon himself by his conduct at the battle of Falkirk, he might have figured in the annals of his country with a fair and honourable reputation. While regent of Scotland, his behaviour was not only unexceptionable, but often praiseworthy. This however may have been partly owing to the strict surveillance which Wallace still exercised in the affairs of the country, or partly from a wish to conciliate his countrymen, in the event of a favourable opportunity occurring for his obtaining the crown, — an object of ambition of which it is pretty evident he never lost sight.

The treachery towards Bruce, which has been charged against him by all authorities except Lord Hailes, also tended to deepen the stain on his character. This charge, whether true or false, we have no means of ascertaining. A number of the objections stated by his Lordship against it are, however, of considerable weight. That a bond existed between them of the tenor already described, there is little doubt; and that the terms of this bond became afterwards matter of dispute, there is some reason to believe, as the fulfilment of it would have been dangerous to both. For had Bruce been placed on the throne by the assistance of Cumyn, and the latter had received the estates of Bruce, according to agreement, he would have been a subject far too powerful for the crown; and *vice versa* in the case of Bruce. The quarrel, therefore, which subsequently took place in the chapel of Dumfries, and which ended in the death of Cumyn (the particulars of which are known to every reader), might have arisen in an altercation respecting the difficulties involved in the completion of the bond, without either party having been guilty of a breach of faith. It was no doubt the policy of Bruce and his confederates, that the

stain of treachery should be affixed on the name of Cumyn, as it afforded the only plausible excuse for committing a murder in a place of such reputed sanctity. Indeed the circumstance of the latter having requested an interview within the precincts of a church, showed nothing like a premeditated intention to quarrel; but since the deed was committed, it seemed necessary to the future safety and views of Bruce and his faction, that with the influence the character of the Cumyns should be diminished. That they assisted in this last object themselves, is but too apparent; otherwise it would be difficult to account for that odium which afterwards became attached to them. For while the Scots, in the Low country, cried out against the "fause Cumyn's Kyn," their vassals in Badenoch and Lochaber re-echoed the charge, till the very name became cognominal with deceit; so much so, that the following proverb is at this day remembered in those parts of the Highlands to which their influence extended:

*"Fhad's a bhios crann an còille,
B' àh fòill an Cuimeineach."*

"While there are trees in a wood, there will be deceit in a Cumyn."

We will not however assert, that the enmity of the Gaël arose from the conduct of the Cumyns in the Low country; for if we may credit tradition still current in the West Highlands, this once powerful and oppressive family gave sufficient cause, in their own territorial bounds, for the antipathy of their neighbours and vassals. The atrocities which they committed in their castles of Inverloch, Badenoch, and other strongholds which they polluted with their crimes, at last roused the slumbering vengeance of the people; and tradition, in her vague manner, dates the downfall of this potent clan, from the time of "Cumyn's flight from Onnich." At what period this occurred, cannot now be exactly ascertained; but with the particulars of the story we shall close this imperfect notice:—

The Cumyns, it seems, in the plenitude of their power, paid little attention, when it suited their wishes, to the abrogation of the infamous 'law of Evenus, and the "*mercheta mulierum*" was generally spurned, when the charms of the bride happened to please the eye of the chief. It would seem that three marriages were about to take place at Onnich, a little town on the borders of Lochaber. The women were beautiful, and the men spirited and brave. The half-merk had been tendered at the gates of Inverloch, by the bridegrooms and their friends, and the refusal of it by the chief gave them reason to apprehend the fate that was intended for them. The case excited deep interest. The day of marriage approached, and brought along with it the Lord of Badenoch and his two sons, with their usual retinue. The half-merk was again tendered, and refused. The men drew their swords, determined to guard the purity of their fair ones. A conflict ensued; friends gathered to the assistance of the injured; the two sons of Cumyn were killed; while he, with the remains of his myrmidons, betook himself to flight. The country arose and made after him, till the affair swelled to a general insurrection. All his train were sacrificed to the fury of the pursuers, many,

no doubt, having more serious grievances to revenge. The fight continued till their obnoxious chief reached a hill near the present site of Fort Augustus;—where, overcome with fatigue, he was seen to sit down apparently to rest himself. On coming up to him, however, they found that the wretched man had already paid the forfeit of his crimes. He was carried down and buried on the spot where the fort now stands, which is still known to old Highlanders by the name of "*Cill Chiuimein*," or the burial-place of Cumyn; and the hill on which he died retains to this day the appellation of "*Suidh Chiuimein*," or Cumyn's Seat. Very few of the clan are now to be found in these districts.

To return to our narrative: Wallace, who, as he conceived, among other friends, had secured the co-operation of Sir John Menteith to the measures then in agitation, for the purpose, it is supposed, of giving as early notice as possible of the arrival of Bruce, had retained near his person a young man related to Menteith*, who was to have been despatched with the news to Dumbarton, as soon as their future monarch should arrive, when that important fortress was to have declared in his favour.

Confiding in the arrangements thus made, Wallace, as the time appointed by Bruce drew near, collected his followers round Glasgow, and disposed of them in such a manner, as to be able to bring them together on the shortest notice †. For the better concealment of his design, he retired to a small lonely house at Robroyston, about three miles north-west of Glasgow. Here he waited with impatience for the night on which Bruce had appointed to meet him, little dreaming of the danger to which his intended sovereign was exposed, through the conduct of Cumyn, nor of the treachery that was hatching against himself.

The means which were employed to accomplish the destruction of Bruce, would have been of very little avail towards securing the objects intended, so long as his brother and our hero—who had now identified himself with the interest of the Brucian party—remained to head the insurrection that was expected to break out; and as all the magnificent promises of Edward had been unable to subdue the stern virtue of the patriot, his emissaries now be thought themselves of assailing the fidelity of those friends in whom he seemed chiefly to confide. Unfortunately for the cause of liberty, their allurements were but too successful; and the honour of his early friend, Sir John Menteith, gave way to the arts of the tempter.

On the night of the 5th of August, 1305, Sir William, and his faithful friend, Kerlé ‡, accom-

* This young man is said by Henry to have been a son of Menteith's sister. Langtoft calls him a servant, and says his name was *Jock Short*.

† From Robroyston Wallace could easily make his way to the Clyde; and across the river and keep his appointment with Bruce, who was to have approached from the south, without coming in sight of any of the English stationed at Glasgow. The burrow-muir was situated on the south side of the Clyde.

‡ The circumstance of this person being the last friend whom our hero was destined to behold, would, independent of his own personal merits, have rendered him an object of curiosity to a great proportion of our readers. The following account is taken from the notes of the editor of the Perth edition of *Blind Harrie*; and, as any thing which the writer

panied by the youth before-mentioned, had betaken themselves to their lonely retreat at Robroyston*; to which place their steps had been watched by a spy, who, as soon as he had observed them enter, returned to his employers.

At the dead hour of midnight, while the two friends lay fast asleep, the youth, whose turn it was to watch, cautiously removed the bugle from the neck of Wallace, and conveyed it, along with his arms, through an aperture in the wall; then slowly opening the door, two men-at-arms silently entered, and, seizing upon Kerlé, hurried him from the apartment, and instantly put him to death. Wallace, awakened by the noise, started to his feet, and, missing his weapons, became sensible of his danger, but grasping a large piece of oak, which had been used for a seat, he struck two of his assailants dead on the spot, and drove the rest headlong before him. Seeing the fury to which he was roused, and the difficulty they would have in taking him alive, Menteith now advanced to the aperture, and represented to him the folly of resistance, as the English, he said, having heard of his place of resort, and of the plans he had in contemplation,

has yet met with, rather tends to confirm than invalidate the statement, he shall submit it to the reader in the words of the learned and intelligent author:—

"William Ker, commonly called Kerlie, or Ker Little, was ancestor of the Kers of Kersland. He, as well as many others, was compelled to swear the unlawful oath of fealty to Edward, August 5, 1296.

"He joined Wallace at the castle of the Earl of Lennox, September 1296, and went with him immediately on his first northern expedition. He and Stephen of Ireland were the only two of Wallace's men who survived the battle along the north side of the River Erne, November 1296.

"He was the constant friend and companion of Wallace on all occasions, and is sometimes called his steward. In 1805, when Wallace was taken prisoner at Robroyston, a solitary village near Glasgow, William Ker only was with him. They were found both asleep, and Ker was killed in the scuffle.

"Henry says, that William Ker had large inheritance in the district of Carrick, in Air-shire. That his ancestor was brought from Ireland by King David I., and defeated, with the assistance of seven hundred Scots, nine thousand Norwegians who had landed at Dunmoir. Some of the Norwegians were drowned in Doun, and others slain upon the land. King David gave him the lands of Dunmoir in reward of his bravery.

"It may be remarked, that Dun Hill, or, as it is commonly called, Norman or Northman Law, a high hill on the estate of Dunmure, in the north-east part of Fife, and parish of Abdie, has on the top of it the remains of Danish intrenchments. The hill on the north side declines all the way to the river or Frith of Tay, which has Dundee at the mouth of it. The constant tradition is, that the Danes or Norwegians carried the spoil of the country to the top of this hill, where the natives could have no access to them; and, after having collected it there, carried it down on the other side to their ships in the river."

"* At Robroyston Sir William Wallace was betrayed and apprehended by Sir John Menteith, a favourite of Edward I. of England. After he was overpowered, and before his hands were bound, it is said he threw his sword into Robroyston loch. An oaken couple, or joist, which made part of the barn in which the Scottish hero was taken, is still to be seen in this neighbourhood, and may yet last for ages."—*Stat. Acc.* viii. 481, 482.

The latter part of the above quotation is perfectly correct. The oaken joist was to be seen till within these ten years past; it has now entirely disappeared, being carried off by that tribe of pseudo-antiquarians, ycleped Relic-fanciers.

were collected in too large a force to be withstood ; that if he would accompany him a prisoner to Dumbarton, he would undertake for the safety of his person ;—that all the English wished, was to secure the peace of the country, and to be free from his molestation ;—adding, that if he consented to go with him, he should live in his own house in the castle, and he, Menteith, alone should be his keeper ;—that even now, he would willingly sacrifice his life in his defence ; but that his attendants were too few, and too ill-appointed, to have any chance of success in contending with the English. He concluded by assuring Wallace, that he had followed in order to use his influence with his enemies in his behalf, and that they had listened to him on condition of an immediate surrender ; but that if he did not instantly comply, the house would soon be in flames about him. These, and other arguments, were urged with all the seeming sincerity of friendship ; and our patriot, confiding in early recollections, and the private understanding that subsisted between them, allowed himself to be conducted to Dumbarton Castle.

On the morrow, however, no Menteith appeared to exert his *influence*, in order to prevent the unfortunate hero from being carried from the fortress ; and strongly fettered, and guarded by a powerful escort, under the command of Robert de Clifford and Aymer de Valence, he was hurried to the South, by the line of road least exposed to the chance of a rescue.

CHAPTER XXIII.

TRIAL, EXECUTION, AND CHARACTER OF WALLACE.

As the capture of Wallace was an event wholly unexpected by the English, the news of it, which spread with the rapidity of lightning, produced, in every part of the kingdom, a deep and universal sensation. Labour of every kind was abandoned, and people of all ranks flocked to those points of the road where it was expected the illustrious captive would pass. At Carlisle the escort halted for a night ; and the tower in which he was secured, long afterwards retained his name. As the *cortège* approached London, the crowds became more numerous ; and, on entering the capital, his conductors found their progress retarded by the multitudes that were collected ;—while every elevation or projection, however perilous, from which he could be seen, was occupied with, or clung to, by anxious spectators, eager to behold a man who had filled England with terror, and the fame of whose achievements had resounded through every country in Europe. After much exertion, the cavalcade at length reached the house of William Delect, a citizen in Fenchurch Street, where their prisoner was lodged for the night. From the circumstance of his having been taken to a private house, rather than to a place of greater security, it has been imagined by some, that Edward intended to make a last effort to gain Wallace over to his interest. This conjecture, however, is not sufficiently supported by subsequent proceedings, to entitle it to any degree of credit ; and we are more inclined to believe, that the difficulty which the party encountered in making their way through

the dense multitudes who had blocked up the streets and lanes leading to the Tower, may, with greater probability, be assigned as the cause for taking him to the house of Delect.

The thirst for revenge existed too keenly in the ruthless mind of Edward, to admit of much delay in the sacrifice of his victim. Though a consideration for the opinion of the more enlightened of his subjects, and the manner in which his conduct might be viewed at foreign courts, obliged him to have recourse at least to the formality of a trial—the indecent haste with which it was brought on, made the mockery of judicial procedure but too apparent. The day after his arrival, he was conducted on horseback, from the house which his brief residence had made the scene of universal attraction, to take his trial in Westminster Hall. His progress from Fenchurch Street, according to Stowe, appears to have been a sort of procession, Lord John de Segrave, the fugitive of Roslin, acting as Grand Marshal of England, and armed cap-à-pie, rode on one side, while Geoffrey de Hartlepool, Recorder of London, equipped in a similar manner, rode on the other. The Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen followed, attended by a number of official characters on horseback and on foot, arranged according to their respective grades*.

On reaching the spot where the solemn farce was to be performed, he was placed on the south-bench of the great hall ; and, in consequence of an absurd report †, which had been circulated in England, of his having said that he deserved to wear a crown in that place, a crown of laurel was put upon his head. The noble appearance of the man, joined to his calm and unruffled demeanour, entirely disarmed this silly attempt at ridicule of its intended effect ‡.

Sir Peter Malory, the King's Justice, then rose, and read the indictment, wherein the prisoner was charged with treason against the King of England, burning of towns, and slaying of the subjects of his Majesty. To the first of these counts Wallace answered, that, as he had never been the subject of the King of England, he owed him no allegiance, and consequently could be no traitor. As to the

* See Appendix U.

† This report may have originated in some facetious remark, which probably escaped from him on hearing that one William Wallace had, by the voice of his fellow-citizens, attained to the honour of being Lord Mayor of London, when the success of the Scots compelled Edward to grant an extension of the liberties of his people. His election is stated, at p. 14, of this work, to have taken place in 1296. This mistake the author begs leave to correct ; the election occurred in April 1298. The coincidence is rather singular. See Lambert's *Survey of London*, vol. i. p. 167.

‡ That Edward was mean enough to subject Wallace to a piece of mockery of this kind, appears evident, from the same contemptible artifice, to excite derision, being again resorted to in the case of Sir Simon Frazer, who was not only habited in an unbecoming and ridiculous garb, but also had "a gerland on ys heued of the newe guyse." This expression is taken from the ancient ballad made on the execution of Frazer, and may be seen in the account we have given of that warrior and which seemed evidently to allude to the recent exhibition made of Wallace, on whose person "the newe guyse" was no doubt first introduced ;—and, as Sir Simon was executed only about twelve months afterwards, the phrase would be perfectly applicable, as the circumstance must have been fresh in the minds of the people.—See Appendix S.

other offences, he frankly admitted, that, in the discharge of his duty to his country, he had done all that was stated. On this admission, the following atrocious sentence was pronounced:—

For treason, he was to be first dragged to the place of execution. For murder and robbery, he was to be then hung a certain time by the neck; and, because he had burned abbeys and religious houses, he was to be taken down alive from the gibbet, his entrails torn out, and burnt before him, his body to be quartered, and the parts afterwards to be disposed of as the clemency of Majesty might suggest*.

When the necessary preparations were made for carrying this sentence into execution, the late champion of Scottish independence was brought forth from the place where he had been kept in confinement, heavily ironed, and chained to a bench of oak. He was then placed on a hurdle, and, surrounded by a strong guard of soldiers, ignominiously dragged to the Elms, in Smithfield. That self-possession and undaunted demeanour which he evinced during the trial, appeared equally conspicuous on the scaffold. Looking round with undisturbed composure on the assembled multitude, he addressed himself to a person near him, and asked for a priest to whom he might make confession. This request, on being made known to Edward, he is said to have sternly refused; and the rancorous old man forbade *any clergyman to retard the execution* for such a purpose. On hearing this undignified command of his sovereign, Winchester, Archbishop of Canterbury, the same individual who so faithfully discharged his duty at Carlaverock, stepped boldly forward, and, after earnestly remonstrating with Edward, declared his determination to officiate himself. When the ceremony usual on such occasions was finished, Wallace rose from his knees, and the Archbishop having taken leave of him, instantly departed for Westminster, thus declining to witness the sequel of an act so revolting to humanity, and which he no doubt considered as fixing a deep stain on the character of his country.

The spectacle which was now exhibited to the gaze of the inhabitants of the metropolis of England, was such as perhaps has never before been presented to the populace of any land. The LAST FREEMAN OF AN ANCIENT PEOPLE, not less renowned for their bravery, than for their love of independence, stood a calm and unshrinking victim, ready to be immolated at the shrine of despotism. That powerful arm which had long contended for liberty was now to be unstrung beneath the knife of the executioner; and that heart, replete with every ennobling virtue, which never quailed in the sternest hour of danger, was doomed to quiver in the purifying flames of martyrdom.

During the pause which preceded the unhallowed operations, Wallace turned to Lord Clifford, and requested that a Psalter†, which had been taken from his person, might be returned. His desire being complied with, he asked a priest to hold it open before him. This book had been his constant companion from his early years, and was perhaps the gift of his mother or his uncle, the parson of Dunipace.

* See Appendix X.

† This appears to have been the only article of property that Wallace died possessed of.

After hanging for a certain time, the sufferer was taken down, while yet in an evident state of sensibility. He was then disembowelled; and the heart, wrung from its place, was committed to the flames in his presence. During this dreadful process, his eyes still continued to linger on the Psalter, till, overpowered by his sufferings, he expired among their hands with all that passive heroism which may be supposed to belong to so elevated a character. The body was afterwards dismembered; the head fixed on London-bridge, the right arm on the bridge of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the left at Berwick, the right leg at Perth, and the left at Aberdeen.

Thus fell this great and exemplary patriot, a martyr to the rights and independence of his country, than whom, if we consider his extraordinary personal and mental endowments,—joined to his inextinguishable and disinterested love of liberty, a greater hero is not to be found in the annals of any people. Born to a slender inheritance, and unconnected by birth with the opulent families of his country, he derived no advantage from those circumstances which often assisted other distinguished characters in attaining that place in the temple of fame to which their ambition was directed. To his own genius he was indebted for a system of tactics eminently calculated for the contest he had in view; and with his own arm he gave the first impulse to the cause of freedom, which afterwards, on the field of Bannockburn, was crowned with such glorious and decisive success under a kindred spirit—on whom the inspiring mantle of our patriot descended, as he winged his flight to the regions of immortality.

In person, Wallace was admirably fitted to grace that elevated station among mankind, for which his genius and talents so eminently qualified him. His visage was long, well proportioned, and exquisitely beautiful; his eyes were bright and piercing; the hair of his head and beard auburn, and inclined to curl: that on his brows and eye-lashes was of a lighter shade; his lips were round and full. Under the chin, on the left side, was a scar*, the only one visible, although many were to be found on his person†; his stature was lofty and majestic, rising the head and shoulders above the tallest men in the country. Yet his form, though gigantic, possessed the most perfect symmetry; and with a degree of strength almost incredible, there was combined such an agility of body and fleetness in running, that no one, except when mounted on horseback, could outstrip, or escape from him, when he happened to pursue. All-powerful as a swordsman, and unrivalled as an archer, his blows were fatal, and his shafts unerring: as an equestrian, he was a model of dexterity and grace; while the hardships he experienced in his youth, made him view with indifference the severest privations incident to a military life. In common intercourse, his accents were mild, and his manners grave and urbane. In the field, when addressing his soldiers, his discourse was brief and animating, and the sound of his voice thrilled through their hearts like the spirit-stirring notes of the clarion‡. Great and varied, however, as were the accomplishments nature had lavished on his person, the graces

* This, in all probability, was the mark of the wound inflicted by the Lancaster bowman mentioned on page 33.

† See Appendix Y.

‡ See Appendix Z.

with which she had enriched his mind threw a radiance over all the rest of her gifts. Untaught himself in the military art, he became the instructor of his countrymen, and his first efforts were worthy of the greatest captain of the age.

If we may judge from his regard to the sanctity of an oath, his ideas of morality appear to have been much at variance with the corrupt practice of the age. Uncontaminated by the pernicious example of the great men of the country, he rather chose to bear hunger and every other privation the unsheltered outlaw might be exposed to, than purchase the advantage so much prized by others, at the expense of taking an oath he had no intention of holding sacred:—still, this inflexible rectitude of soul could not shame the aristocracy from their convenient perjuries; for the bands by which he strove to unite them together, became like ropes of sand in the hour of trial. Notwithstanding, however, all the difficulties that were thrown in his way, the vigour of his own character, and the wisdom of his measures, enabled him to achieve the deliverance of his native land. To the charges of ambition and usurpation that were brought against him, he gave the noblest refutation, by resigning the bauble of power into the hands of those little spirits, who would otherwise have betrayed the cause of national independence, or involved their country in all the horrors of civil war. Thus, his virtuous self-denial preserved the people whom his valour had set free.

In the biographical notices that have been submitted, the reader will perceive the formidable array of talent and power with which Wallace had to contend. To an aristocracy, at that time perhaps unrivalled in Europe, and headed by a monarch as distinguished for ambition, sternness of purpose, and warlike propensities, as he was notorious for the absence of those virtues which constitute the redeeming traits in the character of a soldier—the magnanimous patriot had at first little to oppose, save the innate energies of his own invincible heart, and the resources of a genius which Heaven seems peculiarly to have fitted for the task. That Scotland, distracted by faction, and deprived of all foreign aid, should, under the guidance of one who ranked among the humblest of her nobles, have again advanced herself to the dignity of an independent state, in defiance of the power of England, backed by the resources of Ireland and Wales, was considered by her adversaries as too humiliating to their national character to admit of their relinquishing the contest*. The

* This circumstance seems to have been keenly felt and lamented, as a subject of national disgrace, by some of the historians of England. In addition to the anathemas poured forth by Peter Langtoft, on account of the obstinacy of their northern neighbours—the mortification evinced by Hardyng in the following lines, is highly complimentary to the independent spirit of Scotland. This acknowledged spy, and detected forger, was sent down by his government, in the reign of Henry V., for the mean purpose of stealing away the treaty with Robert Bruce, in which the independence of Scotland was recognised.

“England and Wales as to their soueraygne
To you obey, whiche shuld thinke shame of ryght,
To se Scotlande thus proudly disobeyne,
Agayne them two that bene of greate myght,
It is a shame to euery mannes syght,

renewal of every invasion was, however, met by an increasing stubbornness of opposition; and the chivalrous conqueror in Palestine the “high-souled” Plantagenet, at last condescended to *steal* away the enemy he could neither bribe nor subdue, and thus purchase the brief and delusive semblance of a victory, at the price of everlasting dishonour.

The mind of Wallace was imbued with the most exalted ideas of independence; and the stern and inflexible spirit with which he guarded his own and his country's honour, could only be equalled by the scrupulous delicacy he exercised towards the feelings of others. Loving freedom for her own sake, he considered her sanctuary, wherever placed, as too sacred to be violated. Among the many proofs of this elevation of mind, the following may be mentioned:—On the surrender of de Longueville, the high-spirited Frenchman was anxious to know the name and the character of his conqueror. On the name of Wallace being announced to him, he fell on his knees, and thanked God that so worthy an enemy had been his victor; and, according to the custom of the age, he tendered his service, along with his sword. “Service from you, Sir Thomas,” said the gallant Scot, with an accent of kind familiarity, “I cannot accept; your friendship is what I desire.” On another occasion, in the heat of an engagement, having, as he conceived, given orders to Sir John Graham in a manner too peremptory—after the victory had been secured, he came up to his brave friend, and surprised him with a humble apology for any thing like harshness he might have displayed in his manner of expressing himself. Graham, however, was quite unconscious of hearing any thing that he had reason to take amiss; and expressed a hope that he would always act towards him and others in the same manner, when the interest of their country was at stake.

Sith Iohn Baylioll his ryght it resygned
To kyng Edward, why is it thus repugned?”

Hardyng's Chronicle, p. 413-414.

In the two last lines the writer of the Chronicle founds the pretensions of England to the superiority over Scotland, on the resignation of Baliol. This title he no doubt considered as *preferable* to any claims previously got up; and we would recommend Dr. Lingard to follow his example; for bad as it is, the supporters of it are not liable to meet with those stubborn historical facts which stand in the way of the advocates for a more venerable antiquity. To show the sincerity which dictates this advice, we shall revert once more to pages 443 and 444, vol. iii. of the Doctor's work, where we are told, on the authority of Rymer, that the words “liberates, dignitates, honores debiti,” &c. “mean the allowances to be made, and the honours to be shown, to the King of Scots, as often as he came to the English court, by the command of his lord the King of England, *from the moment that he crossed the Border till his return into his own territories.*” Had the vassalage of the King of Scotland been of that unqualified nature which the Doctor labours to establish, how comes it that his “allowances” only commence *from the moment he crossed the Border, and ceased as soon as he returned to his own territories*—merely, we presume, because *he was in his own territories.* Had it been otherwise, he would doubtless have been found entitled to those expenses or allowances, *from the time he left his own domicile*, in whatever part of Scotland *that domicile* may have been situated.

In the division of spoil, the portion that fell to the share of Wallace he set apart as a fund from which those were rewarded who had distinguished themselves by their valour or good conduct, while contending for the liberty of their country—thus stimulating their efforts in their own cause, by the sacrifice of his personal advantage. The delicacy, also, which he evinced, in excluding his relations from any participation in those grants and emoluments with which he rewarded the services of others, showed him exempt from any selfish or mercenary feeling, and decidedly averse to the aggrandizement of his family* at the national expense. In those times, when driven to the woods and natural fastnesses of the country, where his little party were exposed, from the scarcity of provisions, to the greatest distress, the expedients he had recourse to for their relief, and the self-denial he exercised in order to husband the slender supplies for their use, impressed his followers with sentiments of admiration and gratitude. The system which he introduced, during the short period of his regency, of disciplining and subdividing the nation, evinced the clear and comprehensive views he entertained of the true interests of the country; and had his successors in power followed up the same measure, it would doubtless have been productive of incalculable benefit to the kingdom; as, independent of the great force the Legislature might thus have been enabled to bring into the field in cases of emergency, it would have undermined, and eventually overthrown, the feudal superiority of the barons, and those petty confederations among clans, which have been for so many ages the bane and curse of Scotland. His views, however, for the immediate and permanent prosperity of the country, took even a more extensive range than what is embraced by the above wise and salutary measure. Aware of the benefit which Scotland had formerly derived from her commercial intercourse with the Continent, we find his attention, within a month after the battle of Stirling, seriously turned towards the re-establishment of this important object; and while the nation was mustering at Roslin for the invasion of England, her leader was actively engaged in despatching intimation to the different Hanse-towns, that the ports of Scotland were again open to the trade of all friendly powers†. The plan which he pursued in his invasions, was the most efficient for exhausting the enemy's country, enriching his own, and encouraging his countrymen to flock to his standard. Though often severe in his retaliations, yet, towards women and children, he always exercised the greatest humanity.

During his Guardianship, the country was beginning to feel the return of her former prosperity. With the spoil of the enemy he had diffused plenty over the land; the poor were protected; thieves were promptly and severely punished; cheats and liars were discouraged; and good men met the reward of their virtues. The vigilance with which he watched over the public weal was unremitting, and never for a moment gave place to any object of personal consideration. Even those duties which

are often considered paramount to every other, were with him secondary to the interest of his country; for, on the death of his mother, his presence being required elsewhere, he intrusted the performance of her obsequies to his friend, John Blair, and a confidential servant;—which duty they discharged with becoming solemnity in the cathedral of Dunfermline. To this cemetery, it is conjectured, the fragments of his own body were secretly collated by his companions, after the barbarous and impolitic exposure had taken place. At his execution, that self-command and nobleness of soul, which formed such luminous traits in his character, never for a moment forsook him. Without deigning to breathe a murmur, either at the injustice of the tyrant who condemned, or the unhappy man who betrayed him*, he submitted to his fate with that becoming dignity which extorted even from his enemies expressions of unqualified admiration.

A revulsion, the natural consequence of the inhuman cruelty of Edward, and the undaunted demeanour of his victim took place in the minds of the people of England immediately after his execution; and the story of an English† monk who pretended to have seen a vision of angels conducting Wallace out of purgatory with much honour, was quickly circulated, and received with pleasure, all over Britain.

The following lines, translated from the original Latin by Hume of Godscroft‡, are understood to have been composed some time after the execution of our illustrious patriot, by his afflicted friend and chaplain, John Blair; and with this elegant and pathetic tribute of genius at the shrine of departed greatness, we shall close the present chapter:—

“Envious death, who ruins all,
Hath wrought the sad lamented fall
Of Wallace; and no more remains
Of him—than what an urn contains!
Ashes for our hero we have—
He, for his armour, a cold grave.
He left the earth—too low a state!
And by his acts o’ercame his fate.
His soul Death had not power to kill,
His noble deeds the world do fill
With lasting trophies of his name.
O! hadst thou virtue loved, or fame,
Thou couldst not have insulted so
Over a brave, betrayed, dead foe,
Edward, nor seen those limbs expos’d
To public shame—fit to be clos’d
As relics in an holy shrine.
But now the infamy is thine.
His end crowns him with glorious bays,
And stains the brightest of thy praise.”

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONCLUSION.

THE wisdom of the ancient Egyptians has been much celebrated, but in no respect does it appear more conspicuous than in the uses to which they applied the historical records of their country. By their laws, the hand which kept a faithful tran-

* See Appendix A A.

† However singular this statement may appear to some, the author is happy in having it in his power to produce the most incontrovertible evidence of the fact.—See App. H.

* See Appendix B B.

† See Appendix C C.

‡ See Appendix D D.

script of passing events, and registered with strict impartiality the transactions and characters of their kings, was removed from the knowledge and influence of those whose deeds were thus related. On the accession of every new monarch, it was part of the ceremonial to read in his presence the records of his predecessor's reign. By this means he was apprised of the faults he ought to avoid, and admonished of the virtues it was incumbent on him to emulate; while the reflection arising from the certainty that after death his name also would be consigned over to posterity—either to receive the meed of grateful remembrance, or the impress of merited reprobation, according to his actions—operated on the royal mind as a useful and salutary restraint.

Other nations aspired to imitate the Egyptians; but national imitation is too often like that among individuals. The faults and blemishes of the original are more readily caught than its beauties and perfections. Thus, while the grossness of Egypt's mythology was most servilely copied, *one* practice which gave dignity and utility to her history was entirely overlooked, and the pen of the historian, in place of being wielded by the impartial, fearless, and untrammelled friend of public virtue, was more frequently found in the hand of the needy parasite; employed in the base and degrading occupation of varnishing the enormities of the ermined tyrant, whose ambitious progress to distinction had been marked by the subversion of the rights, and the carnage of his fellow-men. This prostitution of the historic muse is not unknown among modern authors, and may be often attributed to an unworthy desire of administering to the feelings of a favourite party, or a wish to conciliate the national prejudices of their readers. Though compelled, by the general increase of knowledge, to give a more faithful narrative of facts than the writers of antiquity, when it may suit any of the purposes that have been mentioned, the subject of their biography is seldom dismissed without being made to undergo a sort of purgation in the general estimate of his character, and which is often found to be at antipodes to the actions with which it stands connected. Perhaps the annals of England cannot afford a more striking instance of this perversion of all that is valuable in historical literature, than in the portraits which some historians have drawn of Edward I.

Without attempting to delineate the character of this ambitious disturber of the peace of Britain, the writer will merely notice a few of the leading circumstances of his history, and leave the reader to discover by what curious process of literary chemistry those crudities have been made to harmonize, in order to produce so fair a display of political sagacity and kingly greatness.

The littleness which appears to have been inherent in the mind of Edward was laid open to the Londoners in 1263, by his breaking into the treasury of the Knights Templars, and carrying off 1000*l.* deposited there by the citizens. This robbery was looked upon by the people as an act so thoroughly base, that they instantly flew to arms, and assaulted the houses of those among the nobility who were supposed accessory to the theft. Edward was at this time in his 26th year; of course youthful indiscretion cannot be advanced as an excuse for the crime.

His aggression upon Scotland has been indulgently placed to the account of those enlightened and statesman-like views which he entertained of the true interests and general welfare of Britain, and the advantages he discovered would result from the resources of the two countries being consolidated under one head. This "reason of state," has been held up in extenuation of the nefarious means which he resorted to for the accomplishment of his purpose. But by the extracts which we are about to make from the pages of an author every way inclined to treat the faults of Edward with lenity, the reader will perceive, that though the enlightened views "which he took of the solid interests of his kingdom," may have found a place in the imagination of the historian, they do not appear to have occurred to the monarch. The extinction of every thing like rational liberty, and the establishment of an extensive and uncontrollable autocracy, seem to have been the undisguised objects of his ambition. In proof of which, we have only to refer to his demeanour towards his barons, and the unwarrantable appropriation of the effects of his subjects, mentioned in the extracts alluded to. His conduct in respect to Scotland being thus stripped of the only palliation that can be offered, it stands forward on the page of history in all its native deformity, unrelieved by one solitary extenuating circumstance, while the following transaction gives it, if possible, a darker and more disgusting complexion.

In 1267, Henry and Prince Edward, being driven to the greatest extremity by the Earl of Gloucester and other Barons, whom their oppressions and unlawful exactions had forced to take up arms, when every hope failed them, and even the Tower of London was besieged by a numerous army of enraged assailants, they were very opportunely relieved from their perilous situation by the assistance of 30,000 Scots, whom Alexander sent to their relief: and with these auxiliaries they were enabled to withstand, and afterwards to subdue, their exasperated and refractory subjects. The debt of gratitude which was thus incurred, Edward had not an opportunity of discharging, till after the death of Alexander, when the Scots, with a generous confidence, which their own conduct naturally inspired, applied to him to act as umpire in settling the succession to the crown. How honourably he acquitted himself in the discharge of the duties of the trust thus reposed in him, and how generous was the return he made for their good offices, the reader requires not to be told. Two nations, who had for nearly a century regarded each other with feelings of mutual good-will, and had lived in a state of friendly intercourse highly beneficial to both, were suddenly transformed into the most inveterate enemies; and an implacable spirit of animosity engendered between them, which it required the slow revolution of ages to soften and obliterate. The guilty ambition of this shortsighted tyrant entailed upon the British states a quarrel the most bloody, the most expensive, and the most insane that perhaps ever existed between two nations. By the ridiculous pretensions of the one, the improvement of both countries was retarded, and their frontier populations demoralized into cut-throats or plunderers, who wandered in search of their prey over a land barren as the desert, which might otherwise have been teem-

ing with the fruits of honest and profitable industry.

Edward's ideas of honesty we have already seen in the affair of the Templars, and his feelings of gratitude in his conduct towards the Scots. His sense of justice may be gathered from his proceedings against the Jews. The silver pennies of the realm having been clipped, the offence was traced to some of that unfortunate people, and in one day 280 of both sexes were executed in London, besides a great many more in different parts of the kingdom, where it seems simultaneous measures had been taken against them. That this crime was confined entirely to the Jews, is not likely. The implements by which it could be committed were certainly not beyond the reach of English intellect; nor could the latter be supposed, in every instance, superior to the temptation which the gains presented. That the guilt of all who suffered was ascertain, is impossible; and a wholesale butchery of this kind, authorized by law, as it could not answer the ends of justice, can only be considered as gratuitously administering to the worst of human passions.

The estimation in which Edward held those arts which are calculated to instruct, refine, and elevate the human mind, may be learned from his treatment of the Minstrels of Wales. The remorseless and sanguinary policy which suggested that unhallowed act, could only have found place in the breast where every virtuous and honourable feeling has disappeared before the withering influence of a selfish and detestable ambition. In an age when the Minstrel's profession was a passport to the presence and protection of the great, and the persons of those who exercised the calling were held sacred even among tribes the least removed from barbarism, the mind must have reached a fearful state of depravity, that could break through those barriers with which the gratitude and veneration of mankind had surrounded the children of genius, and thus immolate at the shrine of an heartless despotism, the innocent and meritorious depositories of a nation's lore.

The reader may form some idea of the treasures squandered by Edward in the Scottish wars, from the Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1300, inserted in Appendix T, at the end of this volume. The military operations of that year were not on a more expensive scale than those connected with the preceding and subsequent invasions; and by this statement, it will be found, that the disbursements for the campaign of 1300, exceeded, "within one department of the national expenditure," one fifth of the national income. That the expenses of this campaign pressed equally hard on other departments of the exchequer, is sufficiently obvious from the singular expedients which were resorted to for the purpose of carrying it on. The year 1300 is remarkable for the first attempt to depreciate the currency of the realm, it having been then ordered that 243 pennies should be coined out of the pound of silver, in place of 240 as formerly. In this year, also, as will be seen by the statements already alluded to, the Wardrobe department was in arrears to the amount of 594*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.*, which circumstance—

taken in connexion with the fact, that Sir Simon Frazer and other knights soon after deserted the English service, because their pay and other allowances were withheld—proves that the treasury of England at this time must have been in a very depressed state. This profitless expenditure was continued with little interruption, from 1296 till 1320, in pursuit of an object, which, happily for the future prosperity of both countries, was unattainable.

We have already alluded to the treacherous designs of Edward, regarding the liberties of his own subjects; and, in illustration of the opinion then expressed, we shall now subjoin the account of his behaviour, after his triumphant return from the north, as it appears in the pages of Dr. Lingard, an author who certainly cannot be considered as a friend to Scotland:—we wish we were able to call him a *candid* adversary.

"Had Edward," says this learned, though often disingenuous writer, "confined his rapacity to the clergy, he might perhaps have continued to despise their remonstrances; but the aids which he had annually raised on the freeholders, the tollages which he so frequently demanded of the cities and boroughs, and the additional duties which he extorted from the merchants, had excited a general spirit of discontent. Wool and hides were the two great articles of commerce; the exportation of which was allowed only to foreign merchants, and confined, by law, to eleven ports in England, and three in Ireland. In the beginning of his reign, the duty had been raised to half a mark on each sack of wool; but the royal wants perpetually increased; and, during his quarrel with the King of France, he required five marks for every sack of fine, three for every sack of coarse wool, and five for every last of hides. On one occasion, he extorted from the merchants a loan of the value of all the wool which they exported; on two others, he seized and sold both wool and hides for his own profit. He even stretched his rapacious hands to the produce of the soil, and the live-stock of his subjects; and, to provision his army in Guienne, he issued precepts to each sheriff to collect, by assessment on the landholders of his county, a certain number of cattle, and two thousand quarters of wheat. Though this requisition was accompanied with a promise of future payment, the patience of the nation was exhausted: consultations began to be held: and preparations were made for resistance. Edward had assembled two bodies of troops, with one of which he intended to sail for Flanders, the other he destined to reinforce the army in Guienne (1297, Feb. 24). At Salisbury, he gave the command of the latter to Bohun, Earl of Hereford, the constable, and to Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, the mareschal of England; but both these noblemen refused the appointment, on the alleged ground, that, by their office, they were bound only to attend on the King's person. Edward, in a paroxysm of rage, addressing himself to the mareschal, exclaimed—'By the everlasting God, Sir Earl, you shall go or hang.'—'By the everlasting God, Sir King,' replied Bigod, 'I will neither go nor hang.' Hereford and Norfolk immediately departed: they were followed by thirty bannerets, and fifteen hundred knights; and the royal officers, intimidated by their menaces, ceased to levy the purveyance. Edward saw that it was

necessary to dissemble, and summoned some,—requested others, of his military tenants to meet him in arms in London.

“The two Earls, in concert with the Archbishop of Canterbury, had arranged their plan of resistance to the royal exactions. On the appointed day the constable and John de Segrave, as deputy-mareschal (Bigod himself was detained at home by sickness), attended the King’s court; but when they were required to perform their respective duties (July 8), they returned a refusal in writing, on the ground that they had not received a legal summons, but only a general invitation. Edward appointed a new constable and mareschal; and, to divide and weaken his opponents, sought to appease the clergy, and to move the commiseration of the people (July 11). He received the primate with kindness, ordered the restoration of his lands, and named him one of the council to Prince Edward, whom he had appointed regent. On a platform before the entrance of Westminster Hall, accompanied by his son, the Archbishop, and the Earl of Warwick, he harangued the people (July 14). He owned that the burdens which he had laid on them were heavy; but protested that it had not been less painful to him to impose, than it had been to them to bear them. Necessity was his only apology. His object had been to preserve himself and his liege men from the cruelty and rapacity of the Welsh, the Scots, and the French, who not only sought *his* crown, but also thirsted after *their* blood. In such case, it was better to sacrifice a part than to lose the whole. ‘Behold,’ he concluded, ‘I am going to expose myself to danger for you. If I return, receive me again, and I will make you amends; if I fall, here is my son; place him on the throne, and his gratitude shall reward your fidelity.’ At these words the King burst into tears; the Archbishop was equally affected; the contagion ran through the multitude; and shouts of loyalty and approbation persuaded Edward that he might still depend on the allegiance of his people. This exhibition was followed by writs to the sheriffs, ordering them to protect the clergy from injury, and to maintain them in the possession of their lands.

“He now ventured to proceed as far as Winchelsea on his way to Flanders. But here he was alarmed by reports of the designs of his opponents, and ordered letters to be sent to every county, stating the origin of his quarrel with the two earls, asserting that he had never refused any petition for redress, and promising to confirm the charter of liberties and charter of the forests, in return for the liberal aid of an eighth which had been granted by the council in London. Soon afterwards a paper was put into his hands, purporting to be the remonstrance of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, the earls, barons, and whole commonalty of England. In it they complained that the last summons had been worded ambiguously; that it called on them to accompany the King to Flanders, a country in which they were not bound to serve by the custom of their tenures; that even if they were, they had been so impoverished by aids, tallages, and unlawful seizures, as to be unable to bear the expense; that the liberties granted to them by the two charters had been repeatedly violated; that the ‘evil toll’ (the duty) annually on

wool amounted alone to one-fifth of the whole income of the land; and that, to undertake an expedition to Flanders in the existing circumstances, was imprudent, since it would expose the kingdom without protection to the inroads of the Welsh and Scots. Edward replied, that he could return no answer on matters of such high importance, without the advice of his council, a part of which had already sailed for Flanders; that if the remonstrants would accompany him, he would accept it as a favour; if they refused, he trusted they would raise no disturbance during his absence (Aug. 19). Before his departure he appointed commissioners in each county with powers to require security from all persons for the payment of aids due to the crown, and to imprison the publishers of false reports, the disturbers of the peace, and such of the clergy as might presume to pronounce censures against the royal officers for the discharge of their duty.

“At length the King set sail, accompanied by the barons and knights who had espoused his cause; and two days later, Bohun and Bigod, with a numerous retinue, proceeded to the exchequer. The constable, in the presence of the treasurer and judges, complained of the King’s extortions, of his illegal seizures of private property, and of the enormous duty imposed upon wool; and forbade them, in the name of the baronage of England, to levy the last eighth which had been granted by the great council, because it had been voted without his knowledge and concurrence, and that of his friends. From the exchequer they rode to the Guildhall, where they called upon the citizens to join in the common cause, and to aid in wresting the confirmation of the national liberties from a reluctant and despotic sovereign. The tears which the Londoners had shed during Edward’s harangue, were now dried up; considerations of interest suppressed the impulse of pity; and they gave assurances of their co-operation to the barons, who immediately retired to their respective counties. Both during their progress to the capital, and their return from it, they had marched in military array. But at the same time they had been careful to preserve the peace; and had threatened, by proclamation, to punish every lawless aggressor with immediate amputation of a hand, or the loss of the head, according to the quality of the offence.

“The King was soon informed of these proceedings, and ordered the barons of the exchequer to disregard the prohibition. But in a few weeks his obstinacy was subdued by a succession of untoward events. The people and clergy universally favoured the cause of the earls; the Scots, after their victory at Stirling, had burst into the northern counties; and Edward himself lay at Ghent in Flanders, unable to return to the protection of the kingdom, and too weak to face the superior force of the French king. In these circumstances, the lords who composed the council of the young Prince, invited the archbishop, six prelates, twenty-three abbots and priors, the constable and mareschal, and eight barons, to treat with them on matters of the greatest moment, and summoned a parliament to meet in London a week later (Sept. 30), and witness the confirmation of the two charters. In the conferences which preceded, the two parties, though opposed in appearance, had the

same interests and the same views; a form of peace (so it was called) was speedily arranged; and, to the ancient enactments of the charters, were appended the following most important additions:—“No tallage or aid shall henceforth be laid or levied by us or our heirs in this our realm, without the good will and common assent of the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, the earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other free men in our realm. No officer of us or our heirs shall take corn, wool, hides, or other goods, of any person whatsoever, without the good will and assent of the owner of such goods. Nothing shall henceforth be taken on the sack of wool, under the name or pretence of the evil toll. We also will and grant for us and our heirs, that all both clergy and laity of our realm shall have their laws, liberties, and free customs, as freely and wholly as at any time when they had them best; and if any statutes have been made or customs introduced by us or our ancestors contrary to them, or to any article in the present charter, we will and grant that such statutes and customs be null and void for ever. We have, moreover, remitted to the Earl Constable, and Earl Mareschal and all their associates, and to all those who have not accompanied us to Flanders, all rancour and ill will, and all manner of offences which they may have committed against us or ours before the making of this present charter. And for the greater assurance of this thing, we will and grant for us and our heirs, that all archbishops and bishops in England for ever, shall, twice in the year after the reading of this charter in their cathedral churches, excommunicate, and cause, in their parochial churches to be excommunicated, all those that knowingly shall do or cause to be done, any thing against the tenor, force, and effect of any article contained in it.”

“When the parliament assembled (Oct. 10), these additions to the charter were received with enthusiasm; and provided the King would assent to them, the laity voted him an eighth, the clergy of Canterbury a tenth, and the clergy of York a fifth. The prince, by a public instrument, took the Earls and their associates under his protection; and the Lords of the Council bound themselves to indemnify them against the effects of the royal displeasure. A common letter was written to the King, soliciting him to appease all differences by giving his assent, and assuring him that his faithful barons were ready at his command either to join him in Flanders, or to march against his enemies in Scotland; but at the same time requiring, in a tone of defiance, an answer against the sixth day of December. It cost the haughty mind of Edward several struggles, before he could prevail on himself to submit; three days were spent in useless deliberation and complaints; but at last, with a reluctant hand, he signed the confirmation of the two charters with the additional articles, and a separate pardon for the Earls and their followers, (Nov. 5).

“This was perhaps the most important victory which had hitherto been gained over the Crown. By investing the people with the sole right of raising the supplies, it armed them with the power of checking the extravagance, and controlling the despotism of their monarchs. Whatever jealousy might be entertained of Edward’s intentions, his conduct wore at first the semblance of sincerity.

As soon as an armistice had been concluded between him and the King of France, he returned to England, and appointed commissioners to inquire into the illegal seizures which had been made previously to his departure. They were to be divided into two classes. Where the officers acted without warrant, they were, at their own cost, to indemnify the sufferers; where the goods had been taken by the royal orders, their value was to be certified into the exchequer, and prompt payment was to be made. Still it was suspected that he only waited for a favourable moment to cancel the concessions which had been wrung from him by necessity; and it was whispered that among his confidential friends he had laughed at them as being of no force, because they had been made in a foreign country, where he possessed no authority. When he met his parliament at York, the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk required that he should ratify his confirmation of the charters. He objected from the necessity of hastening to oppose the Scots, solemnly promised to comply with their request on his return, and brought forward the Bishop of Durham and three Earls, who swore ‘on his soul,’ that he should fulfil his engagements.” A. D. 1299, March. “The victory of Falkirk and a long series of success gave a lustre to his arms; but when the parliament assembled the next year, the King was reminded of his promise. His reluctance employed every artifice to deceive the vigilance, or exhaust the patience, of the two Earls. He retired from the parliament in anger; he returned and proposed modifications; at last he ratified his former concessions, but with the addition of a clause, which, by saving the rights of the Crown, virtually annulled every provision in favour of the subject. Bohun and Bigod instantly departed with their adherents; and the King, to ascertain the sentiments of the people, ordered the sheriffs to assemble the citizens in the cemetery of St. Paul’s, and to read to them the new confirmation of the charters. The lecture was repeatedly interrupted by shouts of approbation; but when the illusory clause was recited, the air rung with expressions of discontent, and curses were poured on the head of the prince, who had thus disappointed the expectations of his people. Edward took the alarm; summoned a new parliament to meet him within a fortnight; granted every demand; and appointed a commission of three Bishops, three Earls, and three Barons, to ascertain the real boundaries of the royal forests*.”

In the following extract, we find Edward, on the 14th July, holding up the Scots as a bugbear to terrify his subjects into an acquiescence with his oppressive demands; and on the 30th September the English, in turn, are found making the very same use of the Scots, for the purpose of extorting from their reluctant and unprincipled “Justinian,” the confirmation of their national liberties. It did not, however, appear to strike them that the subversion of freedom in Scotland was totally inconsistent with its existence in the southern part of the island.

By the same author we are also told, that after the surrender of Stirling Castle in 1304, Edward sent a secret deputation to the Pope, craving that

* Vol. iii. 8vo. ed. p. 343—355; and vol. ii. of 4to. ed. p. 459—468, 470.

a dispensation might be granted him from the oaths he had taken. This request appears to have been complied with; but the learned author adds, "Whether the papal rescript did not fully meet the King's wishes, or that he was intimidated by the rebellion of the Scots, he made no public use of its contents; but suffered the concessions, galling as they were, to remain on the statute-roll at his death, and descend to future sovereigns as the recognised law of the land. Thus, after a long struggle, was won, from an able and powerful monarch, the most valuable of the privileges enjoyed by the commons of England at the present day. If we are indebted to the patriotism of Cardinal Langton, and the Barons at Runnymede, the framers of the great charter, we ought equally to revere the memory of Archbishop Winchelsey and the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk. The former erected barriers against the abuse of the sovereign authority; the latter fixed the liberties of the subject on a sure and permanent foundation*." In

* Lingard, vol. iii. p. 356. 3^d Edition

his list of meritorious characters, the learned author ought certainly not to have omitted the Knight of Elderslie and his patriotic followers, who, in standing nobly forward for the independence of their own country, were also instrumental in securing such invaluable and lasting privileges for their neighbours.

From the evidence adduced in the quotations made, of the powerful diversion effected in favour of English liberty by the stubborn opposition of the Scots, it appears, that the success of the arms of the latter was the palladium on which the most important of England's chartered rights depended. When the people of England, therefore, think of erecting monuments to the characters the worthy Doctor has enumerated, it is to be hoped that a tablet to the memory of the Guardian of Scotland will not be forgotten, on which, with propriety may be inscribed,

"LIBERTÉ CHÉRIE, quand tu meurs en Ecosse,
Certes, l'Anglais, chez lui, peut bien creuser TA fosse."

APPENDIX.

A.

WALLACE'S TREE.—TORWOOD.

Page 37.

THE following memoranda respecting this celebrated tree, will doubtless be acceptable to the reader* :—

"In Dunipace parish is the famous Torwood, in the middle of which there are the remains of Wallace's Tree, an oak, which, according to a measurement when entire, was said to be about twelve feet diameter. To this wood Wallace is said to have fled, and secreted himself in the body of that tree, then hollow, after his defeat in the north."—*Stat. Acc.* iii. 336.

"This oak is still dignified by the name of *Wallace's Tree*. It stands in the middle of a swampy moss, having a causeway round its ruins; and its destruction has been much precipitated, by the veneration in which the Scottish hero has been long held; numerous pieces have been carried off, to be converted into various memorials of the Champion of Scotland."—*Kerr's Hist. of Bruce*, i. 127.

"Wallace's Oak, as it has been called for ages, still remains in the Torwood near Stirling. The old tradition of the country bears, that Sir William Wallace, after a lost battle, secreted himself in this tree, and escaped the pursuit of his enemies. By this account, it behoved then, that is, about 500 years ago, to have been a large tree. Whatever may be its age, it certainly has in its ruins the appearance of greater antiquity than what I have observed in any tree in Scotland.

"At a very remote period it has separated in the middle, and the one half of it has mouldered entirely away. The other half remains, and is in one place about twenty feet high. But what the tree was above this height, is unknown. All the original part of the tree is putrid. Yet one may perceive that the whole of it, from the head to the very bark, has been red wood, and is so hard even in its putrid state as to admit of a polish.

"In this ancient Torwood, it stands in a manner alone. For there are no trees, nor any ruin of a tree, to be seen that is nearly coeval. Compared to it, even the oldest of them is of a very modern date. The memory of its having saved Wallace, has probably been the means of its preservation, when all the rest of the wood at different times has been destroyed. It has been immemorially held in veneration, and is still viewed in that light.

* See also an interesting paper on this subject, in *The Edinburgh Literary Journal*, No. 70.

"There is a peculiar sort of renovation of an old tree that sometimes occurs, and has taken place in this. A young bark has shot upwards from the root in several places, which has formed fresh branches towards the top of the old trunk. This young bark has spread, and still spreads, like a callus, over several parts of the old tree that are dead; and particularly over a very large arm, which has had no bark on it in the remembrance of the oldest person alive.

"The tree stands in carse land, in a deep wet clay-soil. The road that passes by it in the wood is laid crossways with thick branches of trees, to prevent carriages from sinking to the axles in wet weather.—*Essays on Natural History*, by John Walker, D.D. (1771.)

The ground on which this tree stood was elevated above the surrounding level, which appears at one time to have been a sort of swamp. Causeways of a rude construction led up to the oak in different directions; and as the first formation of these causeways is beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitants living, it proves that the sheltering place of the Defender of Scotland must have been an object of deep interest to his countrymen at a very early period. Although this ancient memorial of Wallace measured, in the recollection of people still living, forty-two feet in circumference, not a vestige of it is now to be discovered. The veneration with which it was regarded, secured it from all human interference; and it was left to the winds of heaven, and the hand of time, till it reached that state of decay which indicated an approaching crisis. Its extinction was then hastened by an anxiety on the part of visitors to possess some portion of it, as a relic of one with whose name it had been so long associated; and so far was this feeling carried, that, after the trunk had disappeared, the ground was dug up to the extent of twelve feet round it, in order to get at any fragment of the root that might chance to remain. This grand search took place after the time was fixed for the visit of George IV. to Scotland; and Mr. Craig, an artist residing at Helensburgh, of considerable taste in his profession, used a part of it which had then been found, in the formation of a snuff-box, ingeniously composed, besides, of various small pieces of wood, including portions of "the Elderslie Oak," "Queen Mary's Yew," the "Bush abune Traquair," and other celebrated inmates of the forest, which have been consecrated by the historical and poetical Muse of Scotland. This elegant little national gem was with much propriety presented to, and graciously accepted by, his Majesty, during his residence in Scotland. Thus,

after a lapse of ages, the root of that oak which had preserved the houseless patriot when outlawed by the enemies of his country, has, by a strange vicissitude, been transplanted to the personal possession of the legitimate descendant of that race of kings for whose right he so nobly contended, and whose beloved representative now wields a sceptre over a countless accumulation of subjects, and a dominion from which the sun may be said never to withdraw his light.

In the preceding year, at the depth of a foot from the surface, and about thirty feet west of Wallace's tree, the head of an ancient Scottish spear was found, which was presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by Mr. Alexander Kincaid. It measures eight inches in length, and, if not of higher antiquity, was probably one of those used in the fatal conflict which took place in the Torwood between James III. and his rebellious nobles in 1488.

B.

THE CRAWFURDS.

Page 40.

CRAWFURD is a corruption of two Celtic words *Croch-Phort*, pronounced *Cro-forst*, signifying a *sheltering place for cattle*, a designation expressive of the general appearance of the parish of Crawford-John. As every thing relating to so illustrious a character as Wallace is important, the following pedigree, showing his maternal descent, will doubtless be acceptable to many.

According to that accurate genealogist, *George Crawford*, author of the *Scottish Peerage*, and the *History of Renfrewshire*, and of the *House of Stewart*, published more than 100 years ago, the Craufurds are derived from Thorlongus, an Anglo-Danish chief, who, being expelled from Northumberland by William the Conqueror, found an asylum in Scotland, and, in particular, had a grant of land in the Merse from Edgar, King of Scots, whose reign is included betwixt the year 1097 and the 8th January 1106-7.

This appears from *Crawford's* MS. "History of the Craufurds," in the Advocates' Library, and is corroborated by *Anderson* in his *Diplomata*, compiled at the desire of the Scots Parliament, who has this notice of Thor-Longus:—"Hic vir nobilis et Anglus genere fuisse, videtur ac forte idem qui *Thor* in Libro vulgo dicto *Doomsday-Book*, sæpius memoratus amplissimis suis prædiis in borealibus Angliæ partibus situs a Gullielmo Conquistatore erat exutus."

At what particular time his expulsion took place, does not precisely appear; but it seems probable that it must have been betwixt the years 1069 and 1074, when, from the unsubmissive spirit of the Northumbrians, they brought down on their own heads the most direful wrath of the Conqueror, who was so provoked with them, for joining their original countrymen the Danes, who had at that time invaded England (and whom, for all his prowess, he was fain to buy off), that "he swore by the splendour of God he would not leave a soul alive;" and so soon as he found it in his power (the foreigners being now gone) to be avenged of

them, he ravaged their country in so merciless a manner, that for sixty miles together he did not leave a single house standing.—See *Rapin*, vol. i. p. 172.

All this took place betwixt the years as above stated; and as they were quite subdued by the last of these dates (1074), and as there appeared to have been no more exterminating spoliation of this part of the country afterwards during William's reign, it seems to be a fair conclusion, that this Anglo-Danish chief had found it necessary to fly, and made his escape to Scotland during the interim mentioned. The era of the *Doomsday-Book* itself (1079), in which Thor is mentioned to have been, before that time, deprived of his possessions, should be a concluding evidence of the fact. That he obtained lands in Scotland during the reign of King Edgar, appears distinctly from the following writs, copied from the MS. History of Crawford, and which also are to be found in the archives of the cathedral of Durham.

CHARTA THORLONGI.

Omnibus sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis Thorlongus in Domino, salutem: Sciatis quod Edgarus Dominus meus Rex Scottorum, dedit mihi Ednaham desertam, quam ego suo auxilio et mea propria pecunia inhabitavi, et ecclesiam in honorem Sancti Cuthberti fabricavi, quam ecclesiam cum una carrucata terræ, Deo et Sancto Cuthberto et monachis ejus in perpetuum possidendum dedi; hanc igitur donationem feci pro anima domini mei Regis Edgari, et pro animabus patris et matris illius, et pro redemptione Lefwini patris mei dilectissimi, et pro meimet ipsius tam corporis quam animæ salute, et siquis hanc meam donationem sancto predicto et monachis sibi servientibus aliqua vi vel ingenio auferre presumerit, auferat ab eo Deus omnipotens vitam Regni celestis, et cum diabolo et angelis ejus pœnas sustinet eternas. Amen.

EJUSDEM.

Domino suo charissimo David Comiti Thor, omnibusque suis, salutem: Scias domine mi, quod Edgarus Rex frater vester dedit mihi Ednaham desertam, quam ego suo auxilio et mea pecunia inhabitavi, et ecclesiam a fundamentis fabricavi quam frater vester Rex in honorem Sancti Cuthberti fecit, dedicavit, et una carrucata terræ eam dotavit. Hanc eandem ecclesiam pro anima ejusdem domini mei Regis Edgari et patris et matris vestri et pro salute vestra et Regis Alexandri et Mathildis Reginae, sancto predicto et monachis ejus dedi, unde vos precor sicut dominum meum charissimum, ut pro animabus parentum vestrorum et pro salute vivorum hanc donationem Sancto Cuthberto, et monachis sibi in perpetuum servituri concedatis.

This historian deduces the Craufurds from the above Thorlongus, in the following order of succession:—

I. Thorlongus, who has charters as above in the reign of King Edgar (*inter 1097 et 1107*), and whose seal in the first is quite entire, had two sons; 1. Swane; 2. William, whose name appears in a charter by William de Vetereponte, in the archives of Durham.

II. Swane, son of Thorlongus, whose name appears in several charters of the same age, as in

one by King Edgar to the monastery of Coldingham, of the lands of Swinton; also in one of the reign of David I., as possessing the Fishery at Fiskwick, near Berwick, and others in these archives.

III. Galfredus, son of Swane, also mentioned in these archives. He is stated by Crawford to have had two sons; 1. Hugh, the next in this line; 2. Reginaldus, of whom afterwards.

IV. Hugh, the eldest son of Galfredus, from whom came the Crawfords of Crawford proper, as under.

V. Galfredus de Crawford, who is a witness to a charter of Roger, Bishop of St. Andrew's, to the monastery of Kelso, in 1179, and died about 1202.

VI. Reginald de Crawford, probably his son, is witness to a charter of Richard le Bard to the same monastery, together with William, John, and Adam, his sons, in 1228. Of the first and third no other memorial exists. The second,

VII. Sir John Crawford, his successor, is designated, *Dominus de eodem miles*, in several donations. He died without male issue in 1248, leaving two daughters, of whom the eldest was married to Archibald de Douglas, ancestor of all the Douglasses whose descent can be traced; and the youngest was married to David de Lindsay of Wauchepdale, ancestor of all the Lindsays in Scotland.

The last three are extracted from *Wood's Peerage*, under the title *Crawford*; and the authorities are stated on the margin. That these ladies, the daughters of Sir John Crawford, were descended from Hugh, No. IV., is distinctly mentioned by *Crawford*, in the MS. History of the Crawfords, as above. To return now to the second son of Galfredus, No. III.

Crawford further states, that Galfredus, No. III., as above, besides Hugh, had another son,

IV. Reginald, with whom another portion of the barony of Craufurd remained, and that from him descended his son,

V. John; and hence the distinction of this part of the barony into Crawford-John. This John, he adds, is the first on record that used the surname of Craufurd from his lands; and he is mentioned as a witness to a charter by Arnold, Abbot of Kelso, in 1140. In the account of Craufurd of Auchnanes, in Renfrewshire, p. 365, it is stated, that Sir Gregan Craufurd, ancestor of the Dalme-gregan branch of Craufurds, was a younger brother of Sir John Craufurd of Crawford-John; of course, he must also have been a son of Reginald, No. IV. This point may afterwards be more clearly verified. Suffice it here to say, that this branch diverged into several, as those of Torrington, Drongan, Camlarg, Balquhanny, Liffnoris, &c., all either now extinct, or whose history is very little known. They were distinguished by the stag's head in their armorial bearings, in allusion to their common ancestor Sir Gregan's having rescued David I. from the attack of a stag which had unhorsed him. This exploit is said to have taken place near Edinburgh, in 1127, which date corresponds not unfitly with the era of his supposed brother, Sir John Craufurd of Crawford-John, who appears as a witness, as above-mentioned, in 1140.

VI. Dominus Galfredus de Craufurd, is the next stated by Crawford the historian, in the succession in this line. He lived in the reign of Malcolm IV. (*inter 1153 et 1165*), and in that of his successor

William; and is a frequent witness to the donations of that prince to the abbacy of Arbroath, particularly in 1179.

VII. Hugh de Craufurd appears to be the next in succession, though it is more from probable conjecture than from precise evidence, that he is reported to be the son of the preceding. But that this Hugh was father of

VIII. Sir Reginald de Craufurd, sheriff of Ayrshire, Crawford has no hesitation in affirming. This Sir Reginald, about the beginning of the 13th century, married the heiress of Loudoun, and from him all the Craufurds of that family, and their numerous cadets, are descended. It would appear that he had four sons; 1. Hugh; 2. William; 3. John, from whom is descended the Crawfordland family; and, 4. Adam.

IX. Hugh carried on the line of Loudoun. He had two sons; 1. Hugh; 2. Reginald, who was the first of Kerse.

X. Hugh, the eldest son, was of Loudoun. He had a son, said to be ancestor of the Baidland Craufurds, and a daughter, Margaret, who was married to Sir Malcolm Wallace. She was the mother of the Guardian of Scotland, Sir William Wallace, from whom the Baillies of Lamington are maternally descended. — *Robertson's "Ayrshire Families."*

C.

THE BURNING OF THE BARNS OF AYR.

Page 42.

As this is one of those portions of our history on which Lord Hailes has thought proper to be sceptical, the following remarks of the learned Dr. Jamieson * on the subject may be satisfactory to the reader. With respect to the date, it may, with great propriety, be fixed about Midsummer 1297.

"The story of the destruction of these buildings, and of the immediate reason of it, is supported by the universal tradition of the country to this day; and local tradition is often entitled to more regard than is given to it by the fastidiousness of the learned. Whatever allowances it may be necessary to make for subsequent exaggeration, it is not easily conceivable, that an event should be connected with a particular spot, during a succession of ages, without some foundation.

"Sir D. Dalrymple deems this story 'inconsistent with probability.' He objects to it, because it is said, 'that Wallace, accompanied by Sir John Graham, Sir John Menteith, and Alexander Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee, went into the west of Scotland, to chastise the men of Galloway, who had espoused the part of the Comyns, and of the English; and that, 'on the 28th August, 1298, they set fire to some granaries in the neighbourhood of Ayr, and burned the English cantoned in them.'—*Annals*, I. 255, N. Here he refers to the relations of Arnold Blair and to Major, and produces three objections to the narrative. One of these is, that 'Comyn, the younger of Badenoch, was the only man of the name of Comyn who had any interest in Galloway; and he was at that time of Wallace's party.' The other two are; that 'Sir John Graham could have no share in the enterprise, for he

* Notes to "Wallace."

was killed at Falkirk, 22d July, 1298 ;' and that 'it is not probable that Wallace would have undertaken such an enterprise immediately after the discomfiture at Falkirk.' Although it had been said by mistake, that Graham and Comyn were present, this could not invalidate the whole relation, for we often find that leading facts are faithfully narrated in a history, when there are considerable mistakes as to the persons said to have been engaged.

"But although our annalist refers both to Major and Blair, it is the latter only who mentions either the design of the visit paid to the west of Scotland, or the persons who are said to have been associates in it. The whole of Sir David's reasoning rests on the correctness of a date, and of one given *only* in the meagre remains ascribed to Arnold Blair. If his date be accurate, the transaction at Ayr, whatever it was, must have taken place thirty-seven days afterwards. Had the learned writer exercised his usual acumen here—had he not been resolved to throw discredit on this part of the history of Wallace—it would have been most natural for him to have supposed, that this event was post-dated by Blair. It seems, indeed, to have been long before the battle of Falkirk. Blind Harry narrates the former in his Seventh, the latter in his Eleventh Book. Sir David himself, after pushing the argument from the date given by Blair as far as possible, virtually gives it up, and makes the acknowledgment which he ought to have made before. 'I believe,' he says, 'that this story *took its rise* from the pillaging of the English quarters, about the time of the treaty of Irvine, in 1297, which, as being an incident of little consequence, I omitted in the course of this history.' Here he refers to Hemingford, T. I. p. 123.

"Hemingford says, that 'many of the Scots and men of Galloway had, in a hostile manner, made prey of their stores, having slain more than five hundred men, with women and children.' Whether he means to say that this took place at Ayr, or at Irvine, seems doubtful. But here, I think, we have the nucleus of the story. The *barns*, according to the diction of Blind Harry, seem to have been merely 'the English quarters,' erected by order of Edward for the accommodation of his troops. Although denominated *barns* by the Minstrel, and *horreas* by Arnold Blair, both writers seem to have used these terms with great latitude, as equivalent to what are now called *barracks*. It is rather surprising, that our learned annalist should view the loss of upwards of five hundred men, besides women and children, with that of their property, 'as an incident of little consequence,' in a great national struggle.

"Major gives nearly the same account as Blair. Speaking of Wallace, he says, 'Anglorum insignes viros apud *horrea* Aerie residentes de nocte incendit, et qui a voraci flamma evaserunt ejus mucrone occubuerunt.'—Fol. lxx.

"There is also far more unquestionable evidence as to the cause of this severe retaliation, than is generally supposed. Lord Hailes has still quoted Bebour as an historian of undoubted veracity. Speaking of Crystal of Seton, he says—

'It was gret sorow sekryly,
That so worthy persoun as he
Suld on sic maner hangyt be.
Thusgate endyt his worthynes.
And off Crauford als Schyr Ranald wes,

And Schyr Bryce als the Blar,
Hangyt in till a berne in Ar.'
The Bruce, III. 260 v. &c.

"This tallies very well with the account given by the Minstrel.

'Four thousand hailt that nycht was in till Ayr.
In gret bernys, biggyt with out the town,
The justice lay, with mony bald barroun.'
Wallace, vii. 334.

"The testimony of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, a well-known national work, written A. D. 1548, concurs. Speaking of the king of England, the writer says :

"'Ony of you that consentis til his fals conques of your cuntre, ye sal be recompenssit as your forbears var at the blac parliament at the *bernis of Ayre*, quhen kyng Eduard maid ane conuocatione of al the nobillis of Scotland at the toune of Ayre, vndir colour of faitht and concord, quha comperit at his instance, nocht heffand suspitione of his treasonabil consist. Than thair beand in his subiectione vndir colour of familiarite, he gart hang, cruelly and dishonestly, to the nummer of sexten scoir of the maist nobillis of the cuntre, tua and tua, ouer ane balk, the quhilk sextene scoir var cause that the Inglismen conquest sa far vithin your cuntre.'—*Compl. Scotl.* p. 144.

"The author refers to this as a fact universally acknowledged among his countrymen, although, it must be recollected, no edition of the *Life of Wallace* was printed for more than twenty years after this work was written. He introduces it again, as a proof of treachery and cruelty, which still continued to excite national feeling.

"'Doubtles that thar participant of the cruel inuasion of Inglismen contrar thar natyue cuntre, ther crages sal be put in ane mair strait yoik nor the Samnetes did to the Romans, as Kyng Eduard did til Scottis men at the blac parliament at the *bernis of Ayre*, quhen he gart put the craggis of sexten scoir in faldomis of cordis, tua and tua, ouer ane balk, of the maist principal of them,' &c.—*Ibid.* p. 159, 160.

D.

MEMOIR OF BISHOP ANTHONY BEK.

Page 43.

For the following biographical notice of this ecclesiastical warrior, who, in ambition, power, and talents for political intrigue, may justly be considered as the Cardinal Wolsey of his day, we are indebted to a work of Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq., a name sufficient to recommend it to all who have any taste for antiquarian research.

"Of the period of Bek's birth we have no precise information. He was a younger son of Walter Bek, Baron of Eresby; and in the 54th Henry III. 1270, was signed with the cross on going to the Holy Land with Prince Edward*, who nominated

* In Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 426. In this memoir all the statements are taken from Surtees' History of Durham, excepting where other authorities are cited.

him one of the executors of his will, which was dated at Acre in June 1272*. In 3rd Edward I. 1275, being then a clerk, he was appointed Constable of the Tower of London†; and was constituted Archdeacon of Durham as early as 1273‡. He was present in the Parliament at Westminster at the feast of St. Michael, 6th Edward I. 1278, when the King of Scotland did homage to Edward§; and on the 9th July, 1283, was elected Bishop of Durham. The ceremony of his consecration was performed by the Archbishop of York, in the presence of the King, on the 9th of January following; but at his enthronization at Durham on Christmas eve, a dispute arose between the official of the Archbishop of York and the Prior of Durham, as to the right of performing the office, which the bishop-elect terminated, by receiving the mitre from the hands of his brother, Thomas Bek, Bishop of St. David's. On the festival of St. John the Evangelist, he presented the church with two pieces of rich embroidery, wrought with the history of the Nativity.

"It is impossible to state even the principal occasions on which Bishop Bek was conspicuous; it being perhaps sufficient to observe, that scarcely a single event of any importance took place during the reign of Edward the First, whether of war or diplomacy, but in which he was concerned. Several facts might be mentioned which tend to prove the influence that he at one time possessed over the mind of his sovereign. According to Fordun, it was by his advice that Edward supported the claim of Baliol instead of that of Bruce||, in the competition for the crown of Scotland; and he was frequently a mediator, not only between the King and his barons, but between his Majesty and his children. The Prelate's ambition was equal to his resources; and both were evinced by the splendour of his equipage, and the number of his followers. If his biographer¶, from whom Mr. Surtees has derived a great part of his statements, may be believed, the retinue with which he attended the King in his wars amounted to twenty-six standard-bearers of his household**; one hundred and forty knights, and five hundred horse; and one thousand foot marched under the consecrated banner of St. Cuthbert, which was borne by Henry de Hornecestre, a monk of Durham. The Bishop's wealth and power soon, however, excited the suspicion of the King; and the process of 'quo warranto' was applied, with the view of reducing them. His temporalities were seized, but he recovered them after an appeal to Parliament; and his palatine rights were confirmed in the most ample manner by the Justices Itinerant in 1293.

* Royal Wills, p. 18, and Testamenta Vetusta, p. 8.

† Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 426.

‡ Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesie Anglicane, p. 353.

§ Rot. Parl. vol. i. p. 224.

¶ Wyntoun states the same thing; and the words he puts in the mouth of the subtle ecclesiastic are highly complimentary to the spirit and military talents of Bruce, against the consequences of which he effectually succeeded in averting the apprehensions of Edward.—*Vide* vol. ii. p. 45, 46.

¶ Robert de Gledstones, who was elected Bishop of Durham in 1333, but was set aside by the Pope, and died soon afterwards. His labours are preserved in the Cottonian MSS. Titus, A. ii.

** "Habuit de familia sua xxvj. vexillarios." *Bannerets* were most probably meant.

From the proceedings in Parliament in the 21st Edward I., it seems, that on the Wednesday before the feast of St. James the Apostle, in the 20th Edward I., namely, on the 23d July, 1292, at Derlyngton, and afterwards at Alverton, and other places, the Archbishop of York had formerly excommunicated the Bishop of Durham, he being then engaged in the King's service in the North; for which offence the Archbishop was imprisoned, but pardoned on paying a fine of 4000 merks*. Bek's frequent quarrels with the Prior of Durham, whom he had of his own authority deprived and ejected, soon afforded a pretext for the royal interference; and a formidable attack was afterwards made upon his possessions. About the same time he espoused the popular cause by joining the Earl Marshal and the Earl of Hereford against the crown; and when charged by the King with deserting his interests, he boldly replied, 'That the Earls laboured for the advantage and honour of the sovereign and his realm, and therefore he stood with them, and not with the King, against them.' In the meanwhile he obeyed a second citation to Rome, for having deprived the Prior, where he appeared with his usual magnificence, and triumphed over his adversaries, by obtaining from the Pontiff a confirmation of his visitatorial superiority over the convent. By quitting the realm without license, he exposed himself to the enmity of the crown; and his vassals availed themselves of his absence to urge their complaints. The Palatinate was seized into the King's hands; and, in July 1301, the temporalities of the see were committed to the custody of Robert de Clifford. In the parliament in the following year, having effected a reconciliation with his vassals, and submitted to the King, the bishop obtained a restitution of his temporalities. But Bek's intractable spirit soon involved him in fresh disputes with the Prior; and being accused of having infringed on the dignity of the crown, by some instruments which he had obtained from Rome, his temporalities were, in December 1305, once more seized; and the King seems to have used every exertion, not only to humiliate the haughty prelate, but to divest his see of some part of its extensive territories. From this time until Edward's demise, he continued under the royal displeasure; but no sooner was Edward the Second on the throne, than he added to his power and titles, by procuring the dignity of King of the Isle of Man, together with ample restitution of what had been arrested from him by the late monarch.

"It is here, however, necessary to refer to the notice of the Bishop in the poem." (See *Siege of Carlaverock*.) "Mr. Surtees has evidently adopted the translation given of it in the 'Antiquarian Repertory,' where the words 'uns plaitz' are rendered 'a wound,' as he says, 'the Bishop of Durham is described in the roll of Carlaverock, as being absent from the siege on account of a wound; whereas the passage is presumed to have meant, that the Bishop was detained in England in consequence of a treaty on some other public transaction. It appears that he then sent the King one hundred and sixty men-at-arms; and at the battle of Falkirk, he is stated to have led the second division of the English army with thirty-nine

* Rot. Parl. vol. i. p. 102, *et seq.*

banners*. In the 35th Edward I., being sent to Rome with other Bishops and the Earl of Lincoln, to present some vessels of gold to the Pope from the King, his Holiness conferred on him the title of Patriarch of Jerusalem †. Thus, Mr. Surtees remarks, on receiving the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, 'his haughty spirit was gratified by the accumulated dignities of Bishop, Count Palatine, Patriarch, and King.' The last political transaction of his life was his union with the Earl of Lancaster, against Piers de Gaveston, in 1310; and, on the 3d of March following, 1310-11, he expired at his manor of Eltham in Kent.

"The character of Anthony Bek is given with more elegance than truth in the Poem. 'The mirror of Christianity' is an emphatic allusion to his piety and virtue; and his wisdom, eloquence, temperance, justice, and chastity are as forcibly pointed out, as the total absence of pride, covetousness, and envy, for which he is said to have been distinguished. But this is rather a brilliant painting, than a true portrait; for, if all the other qualities which are there ascribed to him be conceded, it is impossible to consider that humility formed any part of his merits. His latest biographer, Mr. Surtees, has however described him with so much discrimination and elegance, that his words are transferred to these pages, because they form the most appropriate conclusion of this sketch, and powerfully tend to redeem its many imperfections.

"The Palatine power reached its highest elevation under the splendid pontificate of Anthony Bek. Surrounded by his officers of state, or marching at the head of his troops, in peace or in war, he appeared as the military chief of a powerful and independent franchise. The court of Durham exhibited all the appendages of royalty; nobles addressed the Palatine sovereign kneeling; and, instead of menial servants, knights waited in his presence-chamber and at his table, bare-headed and standing. Impatient of control, whilst he asserted an oppressive superiority over the convent, and trampled on the rights of his vassals, he jealously guarded his own Palatine franchise, and resisted the encroachments of the crown when they trench on the privileges of the aristocracy ‡. When his pride or his patriotism had provoked the displeasure of his sovereign, he met the storm with firmness; and had the fortune or the address to emerge from disgrace and difficulty, with added rank and influence. His high birth gave him a natural claim to power; and he possessed every popular and splendid quality which could command obedience, or excite admiration. His courage and constancy were shown in the service of his sovereign. His liberality knew no bounds; and he regarded no expense, however enormous, when placed in competition with any object of pleasure or magnificence§. Yet, in the midst of apparent

profusion, he was too prudent ever to feel the embarrassment of want. Surrounded by habitual luxury, his personal temperance was as strict as it was singular; and his chastity was exemplary, in an age of general corruption*. Not less an enemy to sloth † than to intemperance, his leisure was devoted either to splendid progresses ‡ from one

occasion, hearing one say, "this cloth is so dear, that even Bishop Anthony would not venture to pay for it;" he immediately ordered it to be bought and cut up into horse-cloths.—*Ibid.*

* "Castissimè vixit, vix mulierum faciem fixis oculis aspiciens; unde in translatione S. Willelmi Eboracensis cum alii Episcopi ossa ejus timent tangere, remordente eos conscientia de virginitate amissa, iste audacter manus imposuit; et quod negotium poposcit reverenter egit."—*Ibid.*

† "Quietis impatiens vix ultra unum somnum in lecto expectans, dixit illum non esse hominem qui in lecto de latere in latus se verteret."—*Ibid.*

‡ "In nullo loco mansurus, continuè circuibat de manerio in manerium, de austro in boream; et equorum, canum et avium sectator."—*Ibid.* And here one cannot avoid being reminded of the satirical lines of Piers Plowman:—

"And piked a boue on palfrays: fro place to maners
Have an hepe of houndes at his ers: as he a Lord were."

Bishop-Middleham, then a fortress of the first class, appears, from the date of several charters, to have been Anthony Bek's chief residence within the county of Durham. The reasons which led to this preference are obvious. Defended by a morass on two sides, and by broken ground to the north, the fortress presented an almost impregnable stronghold during the wars of the Border, whilst Auckland lay bare and defenceless, on the direct route of Scottish invasion. It is no wonder that, in after times, Middleham was deserted for the green glades of Auckland.

The following lines are extracted from an inedited poem on the "Superstitions of the North."

"There Valour bowed before the rood and book,
And kneeling Knighthood served a Prelate Lord;
Yet little deigned he on such train to look,
Or glance of ruth or pity to afford.
There time has heard the peal rung out by night,
Has seen from every tower the cressets stream:
When the red bale-fire on yon western height,
Had roused the Warder from his sifful dream;
Has seen old Durham's lion-banner float
O'er the proud bulwark, that, with giant pride,
And feet deep plunged amidst the circling moat,
The efforts of the roving Scot defied.

"Long rolling years have swept those scenes away,
And peace is on the mountain and the fell;
And rosy dawn, and closing twilight gray,
But hears the distant sheep-walk's tinkling bell.
And years have fled since last the gallant deer
Sprung from yon covert at the thrilling horn:
Yet still, when Autumn shakes the forest sear,
Black Hugo's voice upon the blast is borne.
Woe to the wight who shall his ire provoke,
When the stern huntsman stalks his nightly round,
By blasted ash, or lightning-shivered oak,
And cheers with surly voice his spectre hound."

Of this black Hugh, take the following legendary account: "Sir Anthon Bek, Busshop of Dureme in the tyme of King Eduarde, the son of King Henry, was the maist proud and masterfull Busshop in all England; and it was comonly said that he was the prowdest Lord in Christienty. It chanced that, among other lewd persons, this Sir Anthon entertained at his court one Hugh de Pountchardon, that for his evil deeds and manifold roberies had been driven out of the Inglesche Court, and had come from the southe to

* This passage probably meant, that among the Bishop's followers there were thirty-nine bannerets.

† Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 426.

‡ During one of Edward's progresses to Scotland, a palfrey belonging to the royal train threw and killed its rider; and Anthony seized the palfrey as a deadon: "deceidns sa franchise roiale."

§ He gave 40s. for as many fresh herrings, "Allis magnatibus tunc in Parlamento ibi consecratis pro nimia caristia emere non curantibus." *Grayst.* c. 14. On another

manor to another, or to the sports of the field ; and his activity and temperance preserved his faculties of mind and body vigorous, under the approach of age and infirmity.

“ In the munificence of his public works he rivalled the greatest of his predecessors. Within the bishopric of Durham he founded the colleges of Chester and Lanchester, erected towers at Gainford and Coniscliff, and added to the buildings of Alnwick and Barnard Castles. He gave Evenwood manor to the convent, and appropriated the vicarage of Morpeth to the chapel which he had founded at Auckland*. In his native county of Lincoln, he endowed Alvingham priory, and built a castle at Somerton†. In Kent he erected the beautiful manor-house of Eltham, whose ruins still speak the taste and magnificence of its founder. Notwithstanding the vast expenses incurred in these and other works, in his contests with the crown and with his vassals, in his foreign journeys, and in the continued and excessive charges of his household, he died wealthier than any of his predecessors, leaving immense treasures in the riches of the age ; gallant horses, costly robes, rich furniture, plate, and jewels‡.”

“ Anthony Bek was the first prelate of Durham who was buried within the walls of the cathedral. His predecessors had been restrained from sepulture within the sacred edifice by a reverential awe for the body of the holy confessor § ; and on this occasion, from some motive of superstition, the corpse was not allowed to enter the doors, although a passage was broken through the wall ¶ for its

seek a little bread, and to live by stalyng. And to this Hughe, whom also he employed to good purpose in the west of Scotland, the Busshop gave the lande of Thikley, since of him cauled Thikley-Pountchardon, and also made him his chief huntsman. And after, this blake Hugh dyed afore the Busshop : and efter that the Busshop chasid the wild hart in Galtres forest, and sodainly ther met with him Hugh de Poutchardon that was afore dead, on a wythe horse ; and the said Hugh loked earnestly on the Busshop, and the Busshop said unto him, ‘ Hughe, what makethe thee here ? ’ and he spake never word, but lifte up his cloke, and then he showed Sir Anton his ribbes set with bones, and nothing more ; and none other of the varlets saw him but the Busshop only ; and the said Hughe went his way, and Sir Anton toke corage, and cheered the dogges ; and shortly efter he was made Patriarque of Hierusalem, and he sawe nothing no moe ; and this Hughe is him that the silly people in Galtres doe call *Le gros Venour*, and he was seen twice efter that by simple folk, afore that the forest was felle in the tyme of Henry, father of King Henry that now ys.”

* “ Sed ipso mortuo Radulphus filius Willelmi Dominus de Graystoke patronatum præfatæ Ecclesiæ per litem obtinuit ; et presentato per ipsum per Episcopum admissio et institutio, capella indotata remansit.”—*Grays*. c. 22. The patronage still remains with the heir of Greystoke.

† Castrum de Somerton curiosissimè ædificavit.—*Grays*. c. 22.

‡ Ibid.

§ “ Ante illum enim ob reverentiam corporis S. Cuthberti non est permissum corpus mortuum ingredi ecclesiam Dunelmensem.” Anthony Bek was, therefore, the first who dared to bring

“ A slovenly, unhandsome corse,
Betwixt the wind and his nobility.”

¶ If, however, the funeral of the patriarch Bishop was conducted with the same solemnities as that of his successor Cardinal Langley, the breaking an entrance through the wall

reception, near the place of interment. The tomb was placed in the east transept, between the altars of St. Adrian and St. Michael, close to the holy shrine. A brass, long since destroyed, surrounded the ledge of the marble, and bore the following inscription :—

‘ Presul magnanimus Antonius hic jacet imus.
Jerusalem strenuus Patriarcha fuit, quod opimus
Annis vicenis regnabit sex et j plenis,
Mille trecentenis Christo moritur quoque denis.’

“ The Bishop’s heirs were found, by the inquisition held after his decease, to be his nephew, Robert de Willoughby, son of Alice his eldest sister ; and his nephew John de Harcourt, son of his second sister Margaret.”

E.

EXPEDITION TO THE WEST HIGHLANDS.

Page 46.

In this account of the expedition to Loch-Awe, the statements, as the reader will perceive, are all taken from the pages of the Minstrel. The writer was induced to do so, not from the circumstance of Henry being the only ancient author who has recorded the transaction, but from the evidence of its truth, which may be found in the traditions of the country where the conflict took place. These have already been alluded to in the Introduction. It may not, however, be improper to state, that “ *Uagh Mhac Phadan*,” or M’Fadyan’s cave, can still be pointed out by old Highlanders, who add, on the authority of tradition, that the determination with which the Irish leader defended himself was such, that his pursuers had to throw down bundles of burning furze into the cave before he surrendered. The rock on which his head was afterwards set up, still goes by the name of *Beinn-nean Mhac Phadan*, the *Peak or Pinnacle of Mac-Fadyan*. In short, the localities of the country are so correctly described, particularly the scene of the battle, which appears to have been on the comparatively open space between *Crag-an-àradh* and the rock of *Bradhir* or *Brandir*, as it is called, for the convenience of the English reader, that few who have had an opportunity of contrasting the scenery with the account of the Minstrel, can resist the impression of its being either the work, or translated from the work, of an eyewitness. This, taken in connection with the evidence afforded by the coins of Edward I., which from time to time have been found about the ruins of Ardhattan priory, and which have also been previously adverted to in the Introduction, ought to be pretty conclusive as to the occurrence narrated.

This subject has already engaged the attention of a literary gentleman* of talent and intelligence, who has handled the matter with no small degree of acumen. The following extracts may therefore

was a matter of necessity rather than superstition, for Langley’s hearse was drawn into the nave of the cathedral by four stately black horses, which, with all their housings of velvet, become the official perquisite of the sacrist.

* John Hay Allan, Esq.

be interesting to those readers who have not had opportunities for personal investigation.

“Blind Harrie has very particularly related the circumstances of MacPhadian’s proceedings ; and his account so exactly coincides with the tradition and topography of the district where the facts are said to have been performed, that there can be little or no doubt of the truth of his narration.

“Loch-Awe, upon the banks of which the scene of action took place, is thirty-four miles in length. The north side is bounded by wide muirs and inconsiderable hills, which occupy an extent of country from twelve to twenty miles in breadth, and the whole of this space is enclosed as by a circumvallation. Upon the north it is barred by Loch-Eitve, on the south by Loch-Awe, and on the east by the deep and dreadful pass of Brandir, through which an arm of the latter lake opens at about four miles from its eastern extremity, and discharges the river Awe into the former. The pass is about three miles in length ; its east side is bounded by the almost inaccessible steeps which form the base of the vast and rugged mountain of Cruächan. The craigs rise in some places almost perpendicularly from the water ; and, for their chief extent, show no space nor level at their feet, but a rough and narrow edge of stony beach. Upon the whole of these cliffs grew a thick and interwoven wood of all kinds of trees, both timber, dwarf, and coppice ; no track existed through the wilderness, but a winding path which sometimes crept along the precipitous height, and sometimes descended in a straight pass along the margin of the water. Near the extremity of the defile, a narrow level opened between the water and the Craig ; but a great part of this, as well as the preceding steeps, was formerly enveloped in a thicket, which showed little facility to the feet of any but the martins and the wild cats. Along the west side of the pass, lies a wall of sheer and barren craigs : from behind they rise in rough, uneven, and heathy declivities, out of the wide muir before mentioned, between Loch-Eitve and Loch-Awe ; but in front they terminate abruptly in the most frightful precipices, which form the whole side of the pass, and descend at one fall into the water which fills its trough. At the north end of this barrier, and at the termination of the pass, lies that part of the cliff which is called Craiganuni : at its foot the arm of the lake gradually contracts its water to a very narrow space, and at length terminates at two rocks (called the rocks of Brandir), which form a straight channel, something resembling the lock of a canal. From this outlet there is a continual descent toward Loch-Eitve, and from hence the river Awe pours out its current in a furious stream, foaming over a bed broken with holes, and cumbered with masses of granite and whinstone.

“If ever there was a bridge near Craiganuni in ancient times, it must have been at the rocks of Brandir. From the days of Wallace to those of General Wade, there were never passages of this kind ; but in places of great necessity, too narrow for a boat, and too wide for a leap, even then they were but an unsafe footway, formed of the trunk of trees, placed transversely from rock to rock, unstripped of their bark, and destitute of either plank or rail. For such a structure there is no place in the neighbourhood of Craiganuni, but at

the rocks above-mentioned. In the lake, and on the river, the water is far too wide ; but, at the strait, the space is not greater than might be crossed by a tall mountain pine, and the rocks on either side are formed by nature like a pier. That this point was always a place of passage, is rendered probable by its facility, and the use of recent times. It is not long since it was the common gate of the country on either side the river and the pass. The mode of crossing is yet in the memory of people living, and was performed by a little currach moored on either side the water, and a stout coble fixed across the stream from bank to bank, by which the passengers drew themselves across, in the manner still practised in places of the same nature. It is no argument against the existence of a bridge in former times, that the above method only existed in ours, rather than a passage of that kind which might seem the more improved expedient. The contradiction is sufficiently accounted for, by the decay of timber in the neighbourhood. Of old, both oaks and firs of an immense size abounded within a very inconsiderable distance ; but it is now many years since the destruction of the forests of Glen-Eitve and Glen-Urcha has deprived the country of all the trees of a sufficient size to cross the strait of Brandir ; and it is probable, that the currach was not introduced till the want of timber had disabled the inhabitants of the country from maintaining a bridge. It only further remains to be noticed, that at some distance below the rock of Brandir there was formerly a ford, which was used for cattle in the memory of people yet living. From the narrowness of the passage, the force of the stream, and the broken bed of the river, it was, however, a dangerous pass, and could only be attempted with safety at leisure, and by experience.

“Such is the topography of the country in which, tradition says, that Sir Niel Campbell made his retreat and refuge. It now remains to show, what correspondence there is between its features, and the relation given by Blind Harrie. The words of the Minstrel are as follows :

‘Ye knycht Cambell maid gud defens for yi
Till Craiganyn with thre hunder he zeld,
Yat strenth he held for all his * cruel deed,
Syne brak ye brygg quhar yai mycht not out pass
Bot through a furd quhar narrow passage was
Abandounly Cambell agayne yaim baid
Fast upon Avis yat was bathe deep and braid,
Makfadzan was apone ye toyir syd,
And yar on force behuffyt hym for to byd,
For at ye furd he durst nocht entir out,
For gud Cambell mycht set hym yan in dout,
Mak Fadzane socht, and a small passage fond
Had he lasar he mycht pass off yat land
Betwix a roch and ye gret watir syd
Bot four in front na ma mycht gang or ryd.’
Book vii. Chap. iv. (Edin. Edit. 1758.)

“The correspondence between the above description and the account which I have before given of the topography of the Pass of Brandir, must be evident to every examiner. But the identity of that place and the one mentioned in the poem, is confirmed to a degree of certainty ; first, by the fact, that such a correspondence can be

* MacPhadian’s.

found in no other part of the neighbouring districts; and, secondly, by the mention which is made in the description of the poem, of names which *now* exist in the appellation of the place to which it is supposed to apply. 'Avis' is well known to have been the ancient name of Loch Awe*, and is often met with in old poems which make mention of that lake; and Cragunyn is clearly but a mis-spelling of 'Craiganuni,' the name of the rocks at the extremity of the Pass of Brandir. The error is merely owing to the ignorance of the transcribers of the poem, who did not understand Gaëlic orthography. Except by persons very competently masters of the language of the country, there is scarcely a name in the Highlands more correctly written at the present day.

"It is easy to show the solecism of the correspondence between Blind Harry's description of the position of Sir Niel, and the topography of the Pass of Brandir. In the eighth line of the passage above quoted, it is said, that when the Campbell had gained the craig to which he retreated, he 'baid' (abode) fast upon Loch-Avis. From whence it is plain, that this post was immediately above the shore of Loch-Awe. In the brief notices of MacPhadian's situation at the same period, it is equally evident, that he was entangled in a narrow and dangerous pass, bounded on one side by rocks, and on the other side by the lake. It is expressly said that he was on the opposite side from the Campbells. The water was then between them, and yet their positions were communicable by a bridge and a ford. In the whole sixty-eight miles, which form the circuit of Loch-Awe, there is not a spot where these circumstances could have existed except in the Pass of Brandir. On no part of the shore is there a pass of the nature and difficulty implied in Blind Harry's notices of MacPhadian's embarrassment except there. Neither is there any part of the lake which could be interposed between two bodies of men, and yet rendered evadable by a bridge, except the arm which terminates in the river Awe. In all other places the water is from one to three miles wide, and does not contract into any stream or inlet which could prolong its barrier sufficiently to prevent it from being turned, and yet admit of its being evaded by a passage of the nature above mentioned. But in the Pass of Brandir all these particulars are identically to be traced. The narrowing of the lake to an inconsiderable channel, and its prolongation into the river Awe, by which the former might be interposed as a barrier, and yet evaded by an immediate crossing; the bridge mentioned by Blind Harry as having existed at the foot of Craigunyn, and the probability that one formerly did exist in the corresponding spot of Craiganuni; the ford described as having been the only remaining communication in the separating water, its dangerous character, and the actual being of a pass of the same nature, and the same relative position in the water of Awe, all give the strongest evidence of the truth of the Minstrel's relation, and the application of the scene which he has described. Having then established so much from the circumstances of the poem and the nature of the country, we may draw a clear deduction of the proceedings and motives of Sir Niel Campbell previous to his entering Craiganuni."

* In this instance, it would rather seem that Henry has merely preserved the name as he found it Latinized by Blair.

"Allowing that this spot was the place to which that chief retreated from MacPhadian, it follows as a necessary consequence, from the situation of the latter at the breaking of the bridge, that he must have made his pursuit round the east end of Loch-Awe; and it will very clearly appear, that he could not have chosen this direction, had he not been enticed into it by a similar route in the flight of the Campbell. The proof that MacPhadian did take the direction which I have advanced, is sufficiently decisive. We are expressly told, that when Sir Niel had gained Craiganuni, he was stopped in his pursuit on the opposite, or east side of the water beneath. Now, as he possessed no vessels on Loch-Awe, he could not have gained this side of the arm of the water which runs under Craiganuni, had he not come to it by encircling the east end of the whole lake, which is only four miles distant. The conviction of this fact leads decisively to discover the march of Sir Niel. It is perfectly evident that he must have entered the heights from the same side as that on which it is apparent MacPhadian endeavoured to follow him; for, had he proceeded to Craiganuni by the west end of the lake, or crossed the water any where west of the Pass of Brandir, his enemy could have had no motive in taking the eastern route. In the first instance, he would have marched in an opposite direction to those whom he was pursuing; and in the second, he would have taken a road, which, allowing it might have been the shortest, would have placed between him and his enemy an impassable barrier, and have entangled him in a strait and dangerous labyrinth, where his numbers would have become useless, his attacks impracticable, and his retreat dangerous. Among such difficulties, it is not to be supposed that MacPhadian would voluntarily and unnecessarily have hazarded his success and his safety; he could only, therefore, have been enticed into them, by the allurements of pursuing upon the footsteps of his enemies. The proceedings of Sir Niel are thus reduced to a degree of certainty, and leave no alternative from the circumstances which I have pointed out.

"He observed, that entered from the east, and having his enemy on that side, Craiganuni was the most inaccessible and advantageous hold in all Argyleshire; but that entered and attacked from the opposite direction, all the securities of the place were converted into dangers. Placed then on this quarter, it was only by a stratagem that he could win the desired advantage; and in prosecution of its attainment, he adopted the only plan which could have been unforeseen by his enemy, and carried into execution with a certainty of success. At the approach of MacPhadian into Nether Loch-Awe, he fled before him along the south side, and towards the east end of the lake. Drawn after him by the consciousness of superiority, and the facility of the pursuit, the Irish Captain followed him with no thought but the eagerness of capture.

"The advantages, however, of Sir Niel in point of time, was sufficient to prevent him from falling into his hands in the open district from Inch-Connel to Glen-Urcha; and suddenly turning the head of the lake, and circling towards the west, he dived down the Pass of Brandir, crossed the water, broke down the bridge, ascended the height, and threw between him and his pursuers, the craigs, the

ivers, and the lakes. It was then that the plan of the chief was seen in all its superiority.

"Had he passed round the west end of the lake, or crossed it westward of the Pass of Brandir, he would have entered that wide and open country which I have before described,—a country every where untenable, and so surrounded by natural barriers, that it would have been almost impossible for him to have evacuated it under the closeness of his pursuit. Craiganuni, which had been before him, would have been not only totally unserviceable to him, from the direction in which he entered; but its barriers lying wholly in his rear, would have made it the most dangerous situation. Had he been beset in the moors, the multitude of his enemies had devoured him; had he been overtaken at the craig, his flight would have been cut off by the gulf below; and those who had fled from the sword would have been driven over the precipices, and plunged into the water. Had he escaped these alternatives of ruin, every hardship would have been presented to his retreat. The country round the pass was wild and barren, even to horror and desolation; and had he succeeded in gaining it with security, he must have pursued his flight, hopeless of reinforcement and straitened for subsistence. By the tactic upon which he acted, he not only avoided all the evils, but converted the whole of his disadvantages to the inconvenience of his enemy. The instant he had occupied Craiganuni, and broken down the bridge over the mouth of the river, he was inaccessible on every side, and possessed in his rear a tract of nearly three hundred square miles, wholly open to his operations, but secured from his enemies by the same barriers which rendered himself unapproachable. In front, the depth of the water, and the precipices of the pass, were an insurmountable barrier; on the north, Loch-Eitibe continued the line of circumvallation from the sea to Beann Starabh; and on the south it was extended by Loch-Awe from Lorn to Glen-Urcha. Sir Niel was thus encompassed by a formidable barrier of seventy-three miles in circumference; and from the obstacles of this cordon, and the security of the wide space in his rear, he could at pleasure have evacuated his position under cover of the night, and have retreated, in unmolested security, to Loch-Fine, from whence he might have proceeded in his galleys to the coast of Airshire, and here joined himself with the successful associates of the late victorious Wallace.

"I have said nothing of the ford through the Awe, by which there was an approach to the position of Sir Niel, nor of the capability of Mac Phadian, to have passed Loch-Eitibe by means of his fleet; of the first, the enemy feared to avail himself from the danger of the passage, and the want of discipline among his troops; and from the second, he could have reaped little avail, since, in the consumption of time necessary to have brought round these vessels from the sea, Sir Niel might have abandoned his position, and in one night have made good his retreat beyond Loch-Awe.

"Thus baffled and out-maneuvred, MacPhadian not only failed in his object of offence, but found himself drawn into an intricate and desolate labyrinth, where his multitude encumbered themselves; the want of subsistence prevented him

from remaining to blockade Sir Niel, and his ignorance of the clues of the place made it difficult to extricate himself by a retreat. In this exigence he was desirous of returning to Nether Loch-Awe, where there was abundance of cattle and game for the support of his men. At length he discovered a passage between the rocks and the water; the way was only wide enough for four persons to pass abreast; yet as they were not in danger of pursuit, they retired in safety, and effected their march to the south side of the lake*.

"Here we must leave MacPhadian, and return to Duncan of Lorn. In his youth the latter had been a school-companion of Wallace at Dundee; and he now determined to resort to him, and make use of their old acquaintance to prevail on the champion of Scotland to come to the assistance of Sir Niel Campbell. As soon, therefore, as Mac Phadian had evacuated the Pass, Duncan descended from Craiganuni, and pursued his way for the Low country, attended only by a single follower, named Gillemichel. This faithful clansman was an aged man, but even in his age was still famous for an uncommon speed of foot†, and on their return performed good service for his master. When Duncan arrived in the Low country he found the Wallace at Dundaff, with Sir John the Græme. The patriot chieftain had just returned from the overthrow of the English in the Barns of Air and the city of Glasgow; and besides the friends and forces who had come to him upon those occasions, he had been joined by Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, and Richard of Lundy, who brought with them a considerable number of their followers. No sooner had Wallace heard the tidings of Duncan MacDougall, than he resolved to go to the aid of Sir Niel Campbell; and, assembling his force, he instantly set out upon his march. He directed his course by Stirling, either to gather increase of followers, or apprehensive of leaving behind him an English garrison on the threshold of the Highlands. The castle, however, was not a place to be taken in a day; and bent upon the destruction of MacPhadian, Wallace would not delay his march to pursue the siege in person, but, leaving the Earl of Lennox to carry on that service, he determined to push forward his expedition into Argyleshire. Having assembled his forces at the bridge of Stirling, and found them to amount to two thousand men, 'worthi and wycht,' he hastened forward on his way. Duncan of Lorn acted as his guide; and while they pursued their march, he sent forward his man Gillemichel to discover intelligence of the enemy. Blind Harrie proceeds to relate, that as the army proceeded, it became fatigued with its march, that a great part of the men and horses were incapable to continue their way with that speed which the urgency of the expedition required. Upon this Wallace determined to divide the weary from the strong, and to hasten forward with the latter only, and surprise the enemy before they could have the opportunity of choosing a position, where their superiority of numbers could be displayed to its advantage. For this purpose he divided his host into two bodies; the first, consisting of seven hundred men, he chose to haste forward with himself; and the second, which contained but five hundred, and which was spent with

* Book vii. l. 660.

† Book vii. l. 674.

fatigue, he left in the rear to follow as well as they might. Before they continued their march Wallace again separated the first division into three companies; the first, consisting of one hundred men, his own chosen West country veterans, he led in person as the advance guard; the second, of the same numbers, he committed to Sir John the Græme; and the last, to the amount of five hundred, he gave to Richard of Lundi, with whom he joined Wallace of Richardtown, his cousin. After this disposition, the two grand divisions separated: that under the leading of Wallace hastened forward on its march, and, crossing the mountain in their front, lost sight of their feeble comrades. In Glen-Dochart they were met by Gillemichel the scout; with him came Sir Niel Campbell, who had escaped from Craiganuni, and at the head of his three hundred clansmen had hastened to join the approaching aid of Wallace.

"In this part of Blind Harrie's poem there is an error, which throws some confusion upon the traces of the march of Wallace. It appears, however, to have been the fault of the transcriber or reciter, and I think may be satisfactorily explained. The mistake consists in the contradiction of the name of the place where the host of Wallace began to fail with fatigue, and of that in which it is said, that he afterwards met Sir Niel Campbell. The words of the poem are thus:—

'Be our party was passit *Straithfulan*,
Ye small fute folk began to irk ilk ane.'
Book vii. l. 763.

To which it is subsequently said

'In *Glen-dowchar* yair spy met yaim agayne,
With lord Cambell,' &c.
Ib. l. 785.

"*Straith-Phyllan* opens from the west end of Glen-Dochart towards the north-west; and consequently, as Wallace came from the south-east, it must have been the second of the two places in the succession of his march, and could not, as it stands in the poem, have been the first. I shall presently show, that there is every evidence from the narrative of the Minstrel, and the evidence of tradition, that Wallace did not pass through *Straith-Phyllan* in any part of his march. The mention of the name, in this place, must therefore have been an error altogether, arising either from the carelessness of the transcriber, or from the confusion of two appellations, something similar in import. I am inclined to lean to the latter opinion. At the northern extremity of *Straith-Earn*, between the Glen and Loch-Earn, the mountains form a little amphitheatre, in the middle of which there is a small conical hill, once sacred to St. Phyllan, and still called by his name. Near its summit was a holy spring, distinguished also by the name of the apostle, and at its foot was a small cell of religious, formed originally by his disciples. It appears to me highly probable, that Wallace entered the Highlands by *Straith-Earn*; that it was at St. Phyllan's Hill that his men became fatigued; and that it was this place which the reciter or transcriber of Blind Harrie's poem confounded with *Straith-Phyllan*. This supposition is much supported by the correspondence between the circumstances mentioned by the Minstrel respecting the march of Wallace, and the route between *Straith-Earn* and

Glen-Dochart. A few miles north of St. Phyllan's Hill, the old and short track of the country emerges from the level side of Loch-Earn, and, passing over the transverse mountains at its extremity, enters into Glen-Dochart, at the foot of Bean Mòr, and near the eastern extremity of the lake.

"This was the common Pass used of old by the Highlanders, before the construction of the roads. It is a wild and pathless track, but is still used by shepherds, and is shorter than the modern 'Rad mòr an rìgh' * by some miles. The mention which Blind Harrie makes of the march of Wallace, after the separation from his weary men, agrees very much with this path, and its direction:—

'Yus Wallace ost began to tak ye hycht,
Our a montayne sone passit of yar sycht.
In *Glen-dowchar* yair spy met yaim agayne
With lord Cambell, yan was our folk rycht fayne.'
Book vii. l. 783.

"The correspondence is made still more near by the hint which is given of the spot where the men of Wallace met Sir Niel Campbell. It appears to have happened immediately upon their entering Glen-Dochart; and, after having described the meeting of the two parties, when the Minstrel tells us, that they resumed their march, he says—

'By *Louthdohchr* full sodynlye yaim drew.'
Ib. l. 792.

"From this it would appear, that Wallace entered the glen near the extremity of the lake, and this is the exact point where the mountain path enters from Loch-Earn.

"From this period of the poem to the conclusion of the episode of MacPhadian, the relation of the Minstrel is clear and consistent; and, by the aid of the tradition of the country, the route pursued by Wallace may be well identified with the localities of its existent topography. The oral account, handed down in Argyleshire, states, that at the coming of Wallace, MacPhadian and his host were posted in the northern extremity of the Pass of Brandir; and that they were there attacked and overthrown by Sir William and the Campbells. It will be found, that this account is much confirmed by the correspondence between the nature of the country from Glen-Dochart to Loch-Awe, and the particulars of the route described by Blind Harrie, as having been pursued by Wallace from the latter place to the hold where he encountered MacPhadian: it is still farther avouched by the exact conformity between the description of the scene of battle, in the poem, and that marked as its site by the tradition. Immediately after passing Loch-Dochart, and consequently leaving that glen, the Minstrel describes the host of Wallace as entering a moss of such an extent and difficulty, that it prevented the farther march of the horses, and obliged the men to dismount and pursue their way on foot.

'Yan Wallace ost upon yair fute yai lycht,
Yair hors yai left yocht yai war neur so wycht:
For moss and crag yai mycht na langer dre
Yan Wallace said quha gangs best let se.'
Book vii. l. 803.

"A short distance beyond the west end of Glen-Dochart, there is a high and wide tract of moss

* King's highway.

and moor, called 'The Churan Beag,' which occupies the most considerable extent of the space between Glen-Dochart and Glen-Urcha, the entrance to Loch-Awe. It is difficult to conceive a more desolate spot, nor one which could more correspond with the moss noticed by Blind Harrie. Its whole extent is a vast waste of swamps, gullies, and broken peat-hags; and its outlets and entrances are by rugged and steep declivities, embarrassed with fragments of rocks, and torn into vast chasms by the torrents which rise on the moss above. Through this miserable region lies the shortest path from Glen-Dochart to Glen-Urcha; and though impassable for horses, yet, in the olden time, when these were little used by the Highlanders, it was the most common thoroughfare between the above-mentioned places, and is still used, on account of its brevity, by the shepherds of the country, and foot-travellers who require expedition. It is several miles shorter than the way by Straith-Phyllan and Glen-Lochie; for this reason, and also for its utter solitude, it is highly probable that it should have been the route chosen by Wallace in preference to the other. In addition to the proofs offered in its favour, by the correspondence of its features with those of the road mentioned by Blind Harrie, there is the negative confirmation, that no place of the same nature occurs within the neighbourhood of Glen-Dochart in any direction by which it is probable that the march of Wallace could have been destined. For this reason, it is, as I have before hinted, impossible that he could have passed through Straith-Phyllan; for in the whole way from Glen-Dochart, to Glen-Urcha by that road, there is neither moss nor muir, but plain strath and narrow glen. From all these circumstances, it seems very conclusive, that it was through the moss of 'the Churan Beag' that Wallace took his march, after his junction with Sir Niel Campbell in Glen-Dochart. But to return to the relation of the Minstrel.

"Previous to the entrance of Wallace upon the muir, he mentions that Gillemichel had been again sent forward to reconnoitre the route. He had not been long entered the moss, when he met a scout of MacPhadian, doubtless sent to discover the approach of Wallace. At the appearance of Gillemichel, the foeman fled; but his speed was not sufficient to enable him to outstrip the fleet foot of his pursuer, and he was overtaken and slain. Delivered from this danger of a discovery, the host of Wallace effected their march through the Churan in perfect secrecy, and reached the hold of MacPhadian before their approach was even known. It may, perhaps, be remarked, that the paucity of the Minstrel, in his relation of this part of the march of Wallace, is inconsistent with the description of the country through which tradition supposes it to have been made; since the poem makes no mention of the progress of the expedition through the intermediate space of ten miles, which lies between the Churan and the pass of Brandir, but, from declaring Wallace's delivery from the moss, immediately proceeds to communicate his entrance to the hold, without taking any notice of his arrival on the shore of Loch-Awe. But it is to be observed, that, through the whole march of Wallace, it describes those situations only, the circumstances of which affect the incidents of the story. The space from the Churan

being destitute of any feature dangerous or advantageous, and the grand interest of the episode being the hold of MacPhadian, the Minstrel appears to have been absorbed in that object, and to have passed without regard the intervening way. This is palpably the fact, by the certain evidence, that, wherever the post of MacPhadian was situated, there was between its entrance and the moss passed by Wallace, a space of water which has not been mentioned by the Minstrel.

* * * * *

'Then Wallace said quha gangs best let se,
Throughout ye moss deliverly yai zeid,
Syne tuk ye hauld quharof yai had maist dreid,
Endlong ye schoir ay four in front yai past, &c.
Book vii. l. 806.

"From this notice of the shore, it is here evident that Wallace arrived on the banks of some water immediately previous to entering the position of his enemy, and that Blind Harrie has neglected to mention the circumstance. His omission of the mention of Loch-Awe in his description of the march of Wallace, is therefore no objection that the latter was not made in the route affirmed by tradition.

"From the arrival of Wallace in the hold of MacPhadian, the account of Blind Harrie corresponds entirely with the accounts of the oral record, and the nature of the pass of Brandir. The place in which the old people of the country point out the site of the battle, is that narrow stripe of open space which lies near the northern extremity of the pass, between the foot of Cruächan and the narrowing of the lake to the rock of Brandir. The Minstrel coincides with this account.

'Endlong ye schoir ay four in front yai past,
Quhill yai within assemblyt at ye last.'

Ib. l. 810.

"From this narrowness of the column, and the number of Wallace's men, the whole host could not have entered within the pass, till the head had arrived as far as the space before mentioned. The description of the straitened situation of the position also agrees with the pass of Brandir :

'Her is na gait to fle zone pepil can,
Bot rockis heich and watir depe and wan.'
Book vii. l. 814.

"As soon as the men of Wallace arrived at the post of their enemies, they fell upon them with the utmost fury. Their scouts having been slain, as before mentioned, MacPhadian's followers were completely surprised and taken at disarray. Undismayed, however, by this ill fortune, they snatched up their arms, and rushed to defend the pass with the boldest resolution. At the first onset, the Scots bore back their enemies over five acres of ground; and Wallace, with his iron mace, made a fearful havoc among the enemy. Encouraged, however, by MacPhadian, the Irish came to the rescue; the battle thickened with more stubborn fury; and for two hours was maintained, with such obstinate eagerness on both sides, that neither party had any apparent advantage; and, says the Minstrel, the fiercest found 'eneuch' of fighting. At length the cause, and the valour of Wallace, prevailed. The Irish gave way and fled; and the Scots of their party threw down their arms, and

kneeling for mercy, Wallace commanded them to be spared for their birth's sake, but urged forward the pursuit upon the Irish. Pent in by the rocks and the water, the latter had but little hope in flight. Many were overtaken and slain as they endeavoured to climb the craggs; and two thousand were driven into the lake and drowned. MacPhadian, with fifteen men, fled to a cave, and hoped to have concealed himself till the pursuit was over; but Duncan of Lorn having discovered his retreat, pursued and slew him with his companions; and having cut off the head of the leader, brought it to Wallace, and set it upon a stone high in one of the craggs, as a trophy of the victory."

. Before the writer met with the work whence the preceding extract is made, he entertained the belief that he was the first who had studied the topography and tradition of this romantic district, with a view of illustrating the labours of the Minstrel, and hence bringing into notice a portion of our history hitherto overlooked by all, save that ill-requited author. Under this impression, he was arranging the materials he had collected, when he became aware of his being anticipated by a more able hand. On comparing his notes with the details of Mr. Allan, the similarity of their views appears too striking to be supposed accidental; and unwilling to incur the charge of appropriating to himself the merits of another, he has suppressed his own observations, in deference to the ingenious author of the "Bridal of Caithness."

F.

MEMOIRS OF JOHN, EARL OF WARREN—LORD HENRY DE PERCY—AND LORD ROBERT DE CLIFFORD.

I. WARREN.

Page 46.

It is presumed the writer will not be far wrong, if he anticipates a little curiosity on the part of the reader, respecting the personal history of so conspicuous a character as the conqueror of Dunbar; and as our English neighbours consider it a matter of difficulty, for a Scotsman to be impartial when the conduct of an enemy of his country happens to be the subject of his investigation, we shall, without either denying or admitting the truth of this allegation, endeavour to escape from the charge, by giving the following biographical notice in the elegant language of one of their own countrymen*:

"John, Earl of Warren and Surrey, was the son of William, Earl of Warren and Surrey, by his second wife, Maud, widow of Hugh Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, and sister and coheirress of Anselm Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. In 1240, being then five years of age, he succeeded his father in his dignities. In 1247 he married Alice, daughter of Hugh le Brun, Count of March, and uterine sister of King Henry the Third; and in the following year, though he could not have been above thirteen years of age, he is said to have attended the Parliament which met at London in the octaves of the Purification. During the reign of Henry the Third, he is stated to have filled those stations which, from his high rank, naturally devolved upon

him, and at the battle of Lewes he served in the van of the royal army with Prince Edward; but, together with the Earl of Pembroke, disgracefully deserted him at the commencement of the action, and fled first to Pevensey Castle, and from thence to France. Their flight is thus quaintly alluded to by Peter de Langtoft*:

"The Erie of Warrene, I note, he scraped over the see,
And Sir Hugh Bigote als with the Erie fled he.

"In May following he returned, and claimed the restitution of his possessions, which, notwithstanding his treachery to the Prince, the rebellious Barons had declared to have been forfeited. The refusal of his demand induced him once more to change sides, and he confederated with the Earl of Gloucester for the restoration of the King's power, and was present with the royal forces at the battle of Evesham. Thus his interest, rather than his honour, seems to have been his sole rule of action; and unfortunately, such conduct was then far too general to entail upon those who adopted it either punishment or reproach. In 1263 he had a dispute with Henry, Earl of Lincoln; and about the same time became involved in a serious affray with Alan Lord Zouche, relative to some lands. This affair was attended with great violence; for, finding that he must submit to the judgment of a court of law, he abused his adversary and his son in the strongest terms, and then assaulted them in such an outrageous manner in Westminster-Hall, that he nearly killed the baron, and severely wounded his son. Neither his power nor influence could save the Earl from the vengeance of the laws he had so flagrantly violated; and, though he retired to his castle at Ryegate, he was closely pursued by Prince Edward with a strong force, and, finding that opposition would be useless, he met the Prince on foot, and implored the royal clemency with great humility. For his offence he was fined ten thousand marks; but this sum was afterwards reduced to eight thousand four hundred, and he was permitted to pay it by annual instalments of two hundred marks each.

"Immediately after the solemnization of the funeral of Henry the Third at Westminster, the Earl of Warren and the Earl of Gloucester proceeded to the high altar, and swore fealty to his son and successor, King Edward the First. In the 3d Edward I. he received that monarch at his castle of Ryegate in so honourable a manner, upon his return from Gascony, that Edward was induced to remit him one thousand marks of the sum which he had been fined for the affair with Lord de Zouche.

"The next circumstance recorded of the Earl, is one in which that proud and sturdy spirit for which he was celebrated, was displayed in a manner so consonant to the feelings of the present day, that this nobleman has always been a favourite character in English biography; and the pencil was on one occasion employed to perpetuate his independent conduct. After the enactment of the statute of *quo warranto*, the Earl of Warren was, under its provisions, questioned by what title he held his lands; to which inquiry, first unsheathing an old sword, he is said to have replied, "Behold,

* N. H. Nicolas, Esq.

* Vol. i. p. 218.

my Lords, here is my warranty. My ancestors coming into this land with William the Bastard, did obtain their lands by the sword; and with the sword I am resolved to defend them against whomsoever that shall endeavour to dispossess me. For that King did not himself conquer the land and subdue it, but our progenitors were sharers and assistants therein.'

"In the 23d Edward I., the Castle of Bamburgh was intrusted to his custody; and, in the 24th Edward I., he commanded the forces sent to reduce Dunbar Castle, which, after a siege of three days, surrendered to him; and having met the Scotch army which came to its relief, he defeated them on Friday, the 27th April, and pursued them several miles from the field of battle, when the enemy sustained a loss of 10,000 men. Soon after this event, the Earl was appointed Regent of Scotland; and in the following year was constituted general of all the English forces north of the Trent. But his previous good fortune now deserted him; and his army sustained a signal overthrow at the battle of Stirling, in September 1297.

"His misfortune did not, however, lessen him in Edward's esteem, for he was immediately afterwards reappointed to the command of the English forces; and, in the 28th Edward I., was made Governor of Hope Castle, in the county of Derby. In that year, also, he commanded the second squadron at the siege of Carlaverock, at which time he must have been about sixty-five years of age.

"In the 29th Edward I., the Earl was appointed, jointly with the Earl of Warwick and others, to treat with the agents of the King of France, relative to a peace between England and Scotland; and in the same year he was a party to the letter from the barons to Pope Boniface VIII., in which he is only styled "Comes Warenne," though on his seal he is also properly called Earl of Surrey*. On the 5th calends of October, 32 Edward I., i. e. 27th September, 1304, being then, according to Peter de Langtoft †, employed in Scotland, he died.

'The moneth of September yolden was Strivelyn,
Edward may remembre the travaille and the pyn.
With many grete encumbre of in hard stoure,
At Brustwick upon Humbre there he mad sojoure.
Sir Jon of Warenne that ilk tyme gan deie,
His body was redy then in grave for to leie,
After the enterment the King tok his way,
To the south, &c.

"But, according to the registry of the Priory of Lewes, the Earl died that day at Kennington, having, says Dugdale, been Earl of Surrey no less than fifty-four years; though, as he succeeded his father in 1240, it is evident he must have borne that title sixty-four years. He was buried in the midst of the pavement, in the quire of the Abbey of Lewes, before the high altar, and the following epitaph was engraven upon his tomb.

'Tous ne passez oy bouche close,
Priez pur cely ke cy repose:
En die come bons estiz jadis fu,
Et bons tel secrets come je su.

* See some Remarks on the Titles and Surname of this Earl in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 195, 196.

† P. 327,

Site Johan Count de Catepynge st pr,
Dieu de sa alme est mercy.
By pur sa alme priera.
Trois mill jours de pardon abera.'

"Of the subject of this article, but little that is favourable to his memory can be said; though his faults, or more properly his vices, were those of the age in which he lived. His treachery at the battle of Lewes has, to apply the beautiful expression of a distinguished statesman of the present day, 'left indelible stains upon his character, which all the laurels of Dunbar cannot cover, nor its blood wash away;' whilst his subsequent conduct was invariably marked by a turbulent and intractable spirit. Not only was he frequently embroiled in disputes both with his compeers and his sovereign, but, with almost unparalleled hardihood, he dared, in a court of justice, to use personal violence towards a baron of the realm. That he should acquire renown in the field, and consequently become possessed of the King's esteem, is perfectly consistent with that impetuous temper for which he is celebrated. Bravery is, however, but one redeeming trait in a picture, where all besides is dark and repulsive; and even the bold answer relative to his right to his lands, when properly considered, affords no room for praise; for the same resolute opposition to such an inquiry would, there is no doubt, be as readily evinced to defend any part of his property, if it had been acquired by the most flagrant injustice on his part, instead of on that of his ancestors.

"A proof of the estimation in which the Earl was held by Edward the First, is afforded, in Dugdale's opinion, by the fact, that the King issued precepts, directed to the Bishops of Canterbury and London, and to several Abbots, commanding them to cause masses to be said for his soul; but this testimony of the royal consideration might have arisen from the near connection between the Earl and his Majesty, as is shown by the annexed table:—

King John =	Isabel, daughter, and heiress of Aymer, Count of Angoulesme.	= Hugh le Brun, Count of March, 2d husband.
King Henry III. =		Alice = John Earl of Warren.
King Edward I.		†

"By the said Alice le Brun, who died on the 9th February, 1291, the Earl of Warren had issue, William, who died in his father's lifetime, leaving his wife *enainte* with John, his son and heir, who succeeded his grandfather in his honours. Alianor, who married, first, Henry Lord Percy, by whom she had Henry Lord Percy, spoken of in the poem (*i. e.* Carlaverock Castle), as the Earl's 'nevou'; and, secondly, the son of a Scotch Baron; and Isabel, wife of John Baliol, King of Scotland*.

II. PERCY.

"If the biographer of an ancient warrior," says Mr. Nicolas, "is in any degree influenced by that

* *Vide* Siege of Carlaverock, edited by N. H. Nicholas, Esq.

enthusiasm which deeds of chivalrous courage are calculated to excite, it is only by more than ordinary restraint upon his feelings that he is enabled to relate them in the sober and chastened language suitable to historical truth; and, perhaps, in no instance is that caution so necessary, as when any member of the house of Percy is the subject of his pen. In the age to which Henry de Percy belonged, as well as in a few succeeding centuries, that name was synonymous with almost uncontrollable power, impetuous valour, and all those stern military virtues which characterized the time; and the difficulty of successfully detailing the career of an individual is considerably increased, when, as in the case of this Baron, the merits of his descendants have been sung, not only by rude contemporary bards, but have been immortalized by the greatest dramatic genius that ever existed.

“Henry de Percy was the third son of Henry Lord Percy, by Eleanor, daughter of John, Earl of Warren and Earl of Surrey, and succeeded to the barony upon the death of his brother, John de Percy, who died under age soon after the year 1272, at which time he appears to have been very young. The first circumstance recorded of him is, that, in the 15th Edward I., being then in ward, on the King's expedition into Wales, he was acquitted of 120*l.* required from him for scutage. In the 22d Edward I. 1294, he made proof of his age, obtained livery of his lands, and was summoned to attend the King into Gascony; and in March, 1296, having accompanied Edward in his invasion of Scotland, he received the honour of knighthood before Berwick. He was present at the battle of Dunbar, and was soon afterwards appointed Governor of Galloway and Aire in Scotland; and in 1297, being with Lord Robert Clifford, commander for the King of England in the eastern parts of Scotland, they were appointed to receive Margery, daughter of Robert Brus, Earl of Carreck, as an hostage for his fidelity to Edward. About the same time he was sent by the Earl Warren, then General of all the English army beyond the Trent, with the forces at Carlisle into Scotland; and having entered Annandale with 300 men-at-arms, and 40,000 foot, about the 19th August he proceeded to Aire, where he endeavoured to persuade the inhabitants of Galloway to submit. Finding that a party of Scots were on their route to oppose him, he marched towards them; but from the inferiority of their numbers, they surrendered upon condition of being pardoned.

“In the 26th Edward I., Lord Percy was again in the wars of Scotland, in which year he obtained a grant of the lands forfeited by Ingelrom de Umfreville; and in the following year he was present at the siege of Carlaverock—a fact unnoticed by either of the writers just mentioned—when he must have been about forty-two years of age. The poet alludes to his determined hostility against the Scots, which feeling appears to have been inherited by his descendants, and describes him as the ‘nevou’ of the Earl of Warren, which, like the word ‘nepos,’ seems to have been used for grandson as well as nephew, he being the son of Eleanor, the daughter of that nobleman. In February, 28th Edward I., 1301, he was a party to the letter from the Barons to Pope Boniface, wherein he is styled ‘Lord of Topclive;’ and in the 34th Edward I., was again sent into Scotland, to oppose Robert

Bruce, against whom he valiantly defended Kenteir. In the 35th Edward I., he was a party to the treaty of peace with Scotland.

“On the accession of Edward the Second, he was, in common with the other peers of the realm, summoned to attend that monarch's coronation; and in the 3d Edward II., he purchased the celebrated castle of Alnwick, which is now possessed by his representative the Duke of Northumberland. In the 5th Edward II., he succeeded John de Segrave, as Constable of Nottingham Castle, and Justice of the Forests beyond the Trent, and about the same period was constituted Governor of Scarborough and Bamburgh Castles. From a writ tested on the 14th September, 1309, it appears that he was then Constable of the Castle of York, and in that and the preceding years he was again in the wars of Scotland.

“Lord Percy distinguished himself by his enmity to Piers de Gaveston, and it is perhaps just to consider that his hostility arose from patriotic motives; but there is a suspicion attached to his behaviour towards the unhappy favourite, which the biased historian of the house of Percy has rather increased than lessened, by his laboured attempt to remove. It appears that Gaveston was besieged in Scarborough Castle by the Earl of Pembroke; and that he surrendered upon condition that his life and person should be secured; and that both the Earl and Percy solemnly pledged themselves to that effect. Through a false reliance, however, on the Earl's honour, by Percy, as Collins relates it, the promise was speedily broken, and Gaveston perished on the scaffold at Warwick Castle. This is a version of the tale, which so partial a biographer as that writer uniformly shows himself, would naturally give; but although the impossibility of ascertaining the real merits of the case render it unjust to pass a positive censure upon Percy's conduct, it is at least equally unfair to conclude that the whole shame of the transaction belongs to his colleague, and that his only error arose from a misplaced confidence. Certain, however, it is, that the King considered him guilty of Gaveston's death, for he issued special precepts, tested on the 30th and 31st July, 1312, for his apprehension, and for the seizure of all his lands, tenements, and chattels. Towards the end of that year, however, Percy was included in the treaty between the King and the barons; and on making his submission his offence was pardoned, and his lands restored to him. The acquaintance of the King to Thomas Earl of Lancaster, Guy Earl of Warwick, Robert de Clifford, and this Baron, of the jewels and horses that belonged to Gaveston, dated on the 6th February, 1313, 6. Edw. II., by which he acknowledges to have received from them the articles therein mentioned, by the hands of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, is still preserved. The document is highly curious; and with the hope of relieving the dulness of this memoir, the following interesting extracts from it are introduced:

‘Un anel d'or, od un saphir, lequel seint Dunstan forga de ses mayns.
Une boiste d'argent en d'orrez pur porter eynz un anel entour le col de un homme.
Une grant rubi hors d'or, que fust trovée sur sire Piers de Gavaston quant il fust pris; le pris de mille livres.

Trois granz rubis en aneaux, une amiraude, un diamand de grant pris, en une boïste d'argent enamille, que fust trove sur le dit Pierres quant il fust pris.

Deux seaux un grant e un petit ; e un petit seal une clief pendaunte, un esterling plie, et un calcedoïne ; les queus furent trovez en la burse quant il fuit pris.

En un cofre, lie de feer, une mirour d'argent enamille ; un pigne ; un priket, que fust donné au Roi par la Countesse de Bar à Gant.

Un coronal d'or od diverse perie, pris de cent mars. Un chapelet d'argent garnis de diverse perie, pris de doze soutz.

En un autre cofre, un grant pot d'argent od trois peiz pur chauffer eawe, que poise sis livres quinze soutz dis deners.

Trois plates d'argent por especierie, e poisent quatre livres.

Deux plates d'argent pur fruit, des armes de roy d'Engleterre, que poisent sessant dis oit souz quatre deners.

Une burse de drap d'or ove deux pierres de Jerlm' dedenz.

Un mors d'argent od quatre botons d'orrez, od deux lions pur chaq'e de cuir.

Un veil seal entaille, e un pere de Calcedoine.

Trois furchescas d'argent pur mangier poires.

Une ceinture de fil de argent blank.

Une chapelet de Paris, pris de sis souz oit deners.

En un sak un bacenet burny od surcils.

En autre saak une peire de treppes des armes de dit Pieres.

Deux cotes de velvet pur plates coverir.

Une Nouche pur palefrei, des armes du Roy.

Quatre chemises et trois brais de Gascoigne or-fresez.

Une veille banere des armes le dit Piers.

Quarant un destres et concers e un palefrei.

Noef Somers. Duze chivauz charetters.

Deux charettes od tut le hernelis *.

* *Fœdera*, N. E. vol. ii. n. 203.

The following translation may be acceptable to some readers:—

One gold ring, and a sapphire prepared by the hauds of St. Dunstan.

One silver box, gilt, for containing a ring, to be worn round the neck of a man.

A large ruby, not set in gold, which was found on Sir Piers de Gaveston when he was taken ; value one thousand livres.

Three large rubies, set in rings,—an emerald,—a diamond of great value (in a silver box enamelled), which was found on the said Piers when he was taken.

Two seals, one large and one small ; and one little seal, (*une clief pendaunte*)—a key attached to it, one crooked Sterling (*i. e.* silver penny), and a chalcondy, which were found in the purse when he was taken.

In a coffer, iron-bound, one silver mirror, enamelled ; one comb ; one tooth-pick, which had been given to the King by the Countess de Bar at Ghent.

One coronal of gold, and sundry precious stones, valued at one hundred mars.

One chapelet of silver, ornamented with sundry precious stones, valued at twelve sols (*doze soutz*).

In another coffer, a large silver pot, and three utensils (*peiz*) for heating water, weighing six livres fifteen sols and ten deners.

Three silver dishes for spiceries, and weighing four livres.

Two silver fruit-dishes, with the arms of the King of England, weighing seventy-eight sols four deners.

“Great part of Gaveston's plate was marked with an eagle, and several articles of jewellery were in that form, his arms being, *Vert, six eagles displayed, Or.*”

“The little that remains to be said of this Baron, may be related in a very few words. In 1313 he received letters of safe conduct from the King, for all his dominions ; in June in the following year he was present at the fatal battle of Bannockburn, and was regularly summoned to parliament from the 6th February, 27th Edward I. 1299, to the 29th July, 8th Edward II. 1314. He died in 1315, and was buried in the Abbey of Fountains in Yorkshire ; and by Eleanor his wife, daughter of John, Earl of Arundel, who survived him, he left issue, Henry his eldest son, then aged sixteen years ; and William, who was made a Knight of the Bath, 20th Edward II. and died in 1355.”—*Siege of Carlaverock.*

III. CLIFFORD.

“Robert de Clifford was the eldest son of Roger de Clifford, who was accidentally slain between Snowden and Anglesey in 1280. He was born about Easter, April, 1274, and in the 14th Edward I., 1286, he succeeded his grandfather in his baronial honours, being then twelve years of age. In the 13th Edward I., he was found to be one of the heirs of Ralph de Gaugy, and paid 100l. for his relief ; after which, the next circumstance which has been found recorded of him is, that he was summoned to attend the King, with horse and arms, on his expedition beyond the sea on the 4th May, 25th Edward I. 1297 ; and on the 26th September following, he was ordered to be at Carlisle, similarly equipped, to serve against the Scots, at the ensuing Feast of Pentecost ; but Dugdale asserts, that he was present at the battle of Dunbar, in 24th Edward I. ; that in the 25th Edward I., he was sent with a hundred men-at-arms and twenty thousand foot from Carlisle to plunder in Scotland ; and that, after much slaughter, he returned with considerable booty on Christmas eve. In that year he was also appointed Justice of all the King's forests beyond the Trent ; in 26th Edward I., he was made governor of Nottingham Castle ; and on the 27th Edward I., being constituted the King's Lieutenant and Captain-General in the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancaster and throughout Annandale and the Marches of Scotland, he was joined in commission with the Bishop of Durham and others, to consider of the

One purse, of cloth of gold, containing two Jerusalem stones.

One silver bit, and four gilt buttons, and two lions for each, of leather.

One old seal cut, and a stone of chalcondy.

Three silver forks for eating pears.

One white girdle of silver lace.

One chapelet de Paris, value six sols eight deniers.

In a bag, one burnished bacinet and vizor (*od surcils*).

In another bag, one pair trappings with the arms of said Piers.

Two surcoats of velvet for covering armour.

One bridle for palfrey, with the King's arms.

Four shirts and three kerchiefs of Gascoigne embroidered.

An old banner with the arms of said Piers.

Forty-one stallions and hunters, and one palfrey.

Nine sumpter-horses. Two cart-horses.

Two carts and all the harness.

means of garrisoning the castles in that kingdom, and for guarding the marches. Clifford was again summoned to the Scottish wars on the 7th May, 27th Edward I. 1299, and received his first writ to parliament on the 29th December in the same year.

"As Clifford did not attain his majority till 1295, he consequently could not have been above twenty-five when he was thus honoured with his sovereign's confidence,—a fact which speaks forcibly in his praise. It was at this period of his life that he was noticed in the poem* ; and as his conduct at Carlaverock is wholly passed over by his former biographer, it claims especial regard in this memoir. After stating that he served in the third squadron, which was led by the King in person, and extolling Clifford's valour, descent, and prudence, the writer adds, that if he were a young maiden, he would bestow on him his heart and person, in consideration of his renown. During the siege, we are told that he particularly distinguished himself, and was rewarded by being appointed Governor of the Castle when it surrendered ; in consequence of which, his banner was placed on its battlements. Clifford was a party to the letter from the Barons to Pope Boniface, in the 29th Edward I., February 1301, in which he is described as "Castellanus de Appelby;" and, in the 34th Edward I., in recompence for his numerous services, he obtained a grant of the borough of Hartlepole, and of all the lands of Robert de Brus. In the same year, he was sent with Aymer de Valence against the said Robert, who had then assumed the title of King of Scotland ; about which time the lands of Christopher de Seyton were granted to him. Clifford attended the deathbed of the King in 1307, and received the dying monarch's injunctions to prevent the return of Gaveston into the realm. In the 1st Edward II., he was again made Governor of Nottingham Castle, and constituted Earl Marshal of England ; and, on the 31st January 1308, he joined several other Lords in an engagement to support the title and honour of the young King with their lives and fortunes. In the 2d Edward II. he was constituted Warden of the Marches of Scotland, and soon afterwards Governor of that kingdom ; and on the 17th March 1309-10, was one of the Peers selected to regulate the royal household. Several valuable grants of lands were bestowed upon him in the 3d and 4th Edward II., in consideration of his merits ; and he was again summoned to serve in Scotland, in the 4th Edward II. In the 6th Edward II. he was joined in commission with the Earl of Hereford and others, to continue a treaty begun at Margate with the Count of Euxeuix and the Bishop of Poitou, upon some important affairs. On the 6th February 1313, he received an acquittance from the King, for the jewels, horses, &c. belonging to Piers de Gaveston ; and he firmly adhered to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, against the unfortunate favourite, for his agency in whose death he afterwards procured the royal pardon.

"Lord Clifford was regularly summoned to parliament on the 29th December, 28th Edward I. 1299, to the 26th November, 7th Edward II. 1313 ; and he terminated his career in a manner strictly consistent with his life, for he fell in the battle of

Bannockburn, on the 25th June 1314, at the early age of forty years. His body was sent to King Edward at Berwick, and is supposed to have been buried at Shapp Abbey, in Westmoreland.

"Clifford married Maud, daughter, and eventually coheir of Thomas de Clare, steward of Waltham-Forest, son of Thomas, younger son of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, by whom, who survived him, and remarried Robert, Baron Welles, he had issue Roger, his successor in the barony, then aged fifteen years, but who died, s. r. in 1337 ; Robert, brother and heir of Roger, and, according to some pedigrees, two other sons, John and Andrew ; and a daughter, Idonea, the wife of Henry, Lord Clifford.

"From Robert de Clifford, the second son of the subject of this article, descended the baronial line of Clifford, which, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, was elevated to the earldom of Cumberland. The barony of Clifford is now possessed by Edward Southwell, the present Lord de Clifford, the abeyance having been terminated in favour of his Lordship's father in 1776*."

G.

HUGH DE CRESSINGHAM.

Page 49.

RESPECTING this avaricious and time-serving minion, few particulars are known. The historians of his country appear to have left his memory in a state between obloquy and oblivion, and the odium he drew upon himself, during his short administration in Scotland, remains unrelieved by the relation of any redeeming circumstances on the part of those who may be supposed intimately acquainted with his character. Sir Walter Scott, in his *Border Antiquities*, mentions, that he was Rector of Ruddledy, Chief Justiciary of York Assizes, and Prebendary of many churches.

But his numerous ecclesiastical duties were totally neglected, for the more congenial pursuits afforded by the cabinet and the camp ; and it is stated, that though in the possession of so many lucrative benefices, he never assumed the garb peculiar to his sacred profession. In his character of Treasurer, he incurred a degree of detestation, which does not appear to have been attached to any of the other officers appointed by Edward to the management of affairs in Scotland. Among his own countrymen, his speculation occasioned disgust, and in many instances desertion ; while his short-sighted rapacity chafed the impatient and angry feelings of a people smarting under the infliction of a yoke to which they had been hitherto unaccustomed, and greatly contributed in raising that spirit of insurrection in which his aggressions met with the vengeance they had provoked.

H.

ORIGINAL LETTER FROM SIR WILLIAM WALLACE AND SIR ANDREW MURRAY.

Page 51.

It affords the writer no little pleasure, to be able to lay before his readers the following authentic

* Siege of Carlaverock, by Walter of Exeter.

* *Vide* Siege of Carlaverock, edited by N. H. Nicolas, Esq.

document, which establishes beyond a doubt the early and deep interest which Wallace took in the re-establishment of the commercial prosperity of Scotland. As this important writing, however, has not hitherto appeared in the works of either English or Scottish historians, nor even been alluded to in any former account of Wallace, it will be necessary to give some explanation respecting the source from which it has been obtained. In the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for August, 1829, the following notice appeared:—"Our Scottish antiquarian friends will be gratified to hear, that Dr. Lappenburg of Hamburg, in his researches among the ancient records of that city, has discovered a letter, of the date 1287, addressed by *Robert Wallace* and Andrew Murray to Hamburg and Lubec." An intimation of this kind could not fail to excite a considerable degree of interest in the writer; and the possibility that a mistake might have occurred respecting the date, as well as the name of one of the parties, encouraged the hope, that a letter of William Wallace and Andrew Murray, with which the public were unacquainted, might still be in existence. Under this impression, the writer communicated with an intelligent friend, through whose means application was made to Dr. Lappenburg on the subject, who, with that genuine politeness which seldom fails to accompany distinguished merit, promptly communicated a copy of the letter in question, taken from the original, which still exists among the archives of the Hanseatic city of Lubec.* The letter is to the following effect:—

"Andreas de Moravia et Willelmus Wallensis, duces exercitus regni Scotie et communitas eiusdem Regni, prouidis viris et discretis ac amicis dilectis, maioribus et communibus de Lubec et de Hamburg salutem et sincere dilectionis semper incrementum. Nobis per fide dignos mercatores dicti regni Scotie est intimatum, quod vos vestri gratia, in omnibus causis et negociis, nos et ipsos mercatores tangentibus consulentes, auxiliantes et favorabiles estis, licet nostra non precesserint merita, et ideo magis vobis tenemur ad grates cum digna remuneratione, ad que vobis volumus obligari; rogantes vos, quatenus preconizari facere velitis inter mercatores vestros, quod securum accessum ad omnes portus regni Scotie possint habere cum mercandiis suis, quia regnum Scotie, Deo regnato, ab Anglorum potestate bello est recuperatum. Valete. Datum apud Badsingtonam in Scotia, undecimo die Octobris, Anno gracie, millesimo ducesimo nonagesimo septimo. Rogamus vos insuper vt negocia Johannis Burnet, et Johannis Frere, mercatorum nostrorum promoueri dignemini, prout nos negocia mercatorum vestrorum promovere velit. Valete. dat. ut prius."

TRANSLATION.

"Andrew Murray and William Wallace, commanders of the army of the kingdom of Scotland, and the community of the same kingdom.—To the prudent and discreet men, and well-beloved friends, the Mayors and Commonwealths of Lubeck and

* In the recovery of a document connected with the hero of Scotland, which had thus lain in obscurity for so long a period, the writer feels himself particularly called upon to express his grateful acknowledgments to T. G. Repp, Esq. of the Advocates' Library, and his friend E. K. Sieveking, Esq., Syndic of the city of Hamburg.

of Hamburg, greeting, and perpetual increase of sincere friendship.

"To us it has been intimated, by trust-worthy merchants of the said kingdom of Scotland, that, as a mark of your regard, you have been favourable to, counselling and assisting in, all matters and transactions relating to us and said merchants, though [such good offices] may not have been preceded by our deserts, and on that account we are the more bound to tender you our thanks, and a suitable return. This we have willingly engaged ourselves to [perform towards] you, requesting, that in so far you would cause your merchants to be informed, that they will now have safe access to all the ports of the kingdom of Scotland with their merchandise, as the kingdom of Scotland, thanks to God, has during the war been recovered from the power of the English. Farewell.—Given at Badsington [Haddington*?], in Scotland, this eleventh day of October, in the year of grace one thousand twelve hundred and ninety-seven.—We have moreover to request, that you would condescend to forward the interests of our merchants John Burnet and John Frere in their business, in like manner as you may wish us to act towards your merchants in their commercial transactions. Farewell.—Dated as above."

Dr. Lappenburg, in his valuable communication, remarks, that this letter "appears to be the oldest document existing relative to the intercourse of Hamburg and Lubec, or other Hanseatic cities, with Scotland †." As the reader will perceive,—a mistake had occurred in the date, and also in the name of Wallace.

From the above interesting muniment, various important points in our history may be established. In the first place, it seems evident, that Wallace and Murray, up to the 11th October 1297, acted only as "duces exercitus regni Scotie," in behalf of the community of said kingdom; and that the commission from John Babiól, authorizing them to act under his sanction, must have been received by them on their march to England, or during the time the devastation of that country was going forward; that is to say, between the 11th October and 7th November, on which day the charter was granted to the monks of Hexham ‡, where we find "the name of the illustrious Prince John by the Grace of God King of Scotland," is added to the authorities mentioned in the above letter. And again, that between the 7th November, 1297, and the 29th March, 1298, another commission must have been forwarded from

* The writer is inclined to believe, that, in copying the antiquated original, Badsington has been put down by the transcriber in a mistake for Haddington. He has left it however, in charge of a note of interrogation, for the purpose of inviting his readers to the exercise of their critical acumen.

† Our readers will be gratified to learn, that Dr. Lappenburg has been for some time engaged on a highly interesting work relating to the origin of the Hanseatic League, in the course of which there will appear upwards of 400 documents which have escaped the research of former writers, illustrative of the state of commerce among the nations of Europe between 1170 and 1370. A considerable number of these documents, we understand, relate to the mercantile transactions of England and Scotland; and a publication of this kind cannot fail to be anxiously looked for, by all who set a value upon well-authenticated historical information.

‡ See p. 115.

Baliol to Wallace, constituting him the *sole Regent of the kingdom of Scotland*, as we find him on that day at Torphichen, granting, in that capacity, a charter to Alexander Scrymgeour, and affixing to it the seal of *Baliol*; which circumstance is mentioned in the charter, while no mention is made of any seal being used in that at Hexham*.

From the circumstance of Andrew Murray's name having precedence in the letter to the Hanse Towns, and in the charter of Hexham, it may with great probability be inferred, that these two documents were either written by Wallace himself, or under his direction. That he was qualified for the task is evident, from the care which had been bestowed on his education; first by his uncle, and afterwards by the seminary of Dundee. If Murray had either written them, or ordered them to be written, it is not likely that he would have placed his own name before one whose merits were so generally acknowledged, as to procure him the appointment of Regent in so short a time afterwards; while Wallace, in placing, or causing the name of Murray to be placed, before his own, appears acting in perfect consistency with those amiable traits in his character which we have already noticed. As these writings are also free from that monkish pedantry, and mystification which pervades the literature of that age, they may with great probability be considered as the composition of the talented Liberator †.

* By the above letter, the writer is also enabled to correct a mis-statement at page 56. The election of Wallace to the *Regency* did not (as is there mentioned) take place before his advance into England. The authority by which he and Sir Andrew Murray made the preparations for the invasion, appear to have been derived from the community of Scotland, and "*duces exercitus regni Scotie*" the highest title they considered themselves invested with at the time.

† Under the impression that the letter and charters alluded to above are the composition of Wallace, we conceive some of our readers may not be displeased with the following attempt at a translation of the charter in favour of Scrymgeour, as they will then have in this volume English versions of every known document that can with any probability be considered as emanating from the pen of Wallace.

"Charter of Sir William Wallace, Guardian of Scotland, in the name of King John Baliol, with the seal of the same John.

"William Walays, Knight, Guardian of the Kingdom of Scotland, and Leader of the Armies of the same, in the name of the excellent Prince Lord John, by the Grace of God, the illustrious King of Scotland,—with the consent of the community of the same kingdom.—To all trusty men of the said kingdom, to whom the present writing may come, Eternal Salvation in the Lord.—Be it known to You all, that We, in the name of our foresaid Lord the King of Scotland, by the consent and approbation of the Grantees of said kingdom, Give and Concede, and that self-same donation and concession by the present charter, Do confirm, to Alexander, named Skirmischur, six merks of land in the territory of Dundee, namely, that land which is called the Upper Field near the town of Dundee, on the north side, with those acres in the west field, commonly fronting the Royal Grounds, near the town of Dundee, on the west side, and also the Royal Meadow in the foresaid territory of Dundee, and also the Constabulary of the Castle of Dundee, with the rights, liberties, and privileges belonging thereto, without any reservation whatsoever, on performing homage to the foresaid Lord and King, and his heirs or his successors; and for the faithful service and assistance rendered to his

It may be remarked, that the envy which a number of the magnates of Scotland entertained towards the Guardian, seems to have arisen after his appointment to the Regency. How Sir Andrew Murray demeaned himself on the occasion, does not appear; but the conduct and feelings of Cumyn, his near relation*, were too unequivocally expressed to be misunderstood.

The above letter, besides affording a good specimen of the diplomatic talents of our hero, is at the same time highly complimentary to the friendly feelings and mercantile integrity of the merchants of the two Hanse cities, and exhibits a singular contrast to the policy of Philip, who, though bound by treaties, allowed his allies to struggle on against their powerful adversary, without affording them the slightest assistance.

I.

MEMOIR OF PATRICK EARL OF DUNBAR †.

Page 52.

THIS powerful and warlike baron was descended from Gospatrick, the Governor of Northumberland, in the time of William the Norman, who deprived him of that office in consequence of his joining the Danes in 1069, on their invasion of England. He afterwards retired to Scotland, and sought the protection of Malcolm III., who conferred on him the Castle of Dunbar and the lands adjoining. In virtue of this grant, his descendants were styled Earls of March, and sometimes of Dunbar; the former title being derived from the lands, the latter from the name of the principal castle belonging to the family. They were also possessed of the castle of Coldbrands-path, a fortress of almost equal importance.

Patrick, or (Corspatrick, as he is sometimes called), the subject of the present notice, was the eighth Earl of Dunbar; he succeeded to his father in 1289, being then about forty-seven years of age. He was one of the nobles who consented to the projected marriage between Prince Edward and

foresaid kingdom, in bearing the Royal Standard in the Army of Scotland, at the time the present writing has been drawn up.—Securing and preserving to the foresaid Alexander and his heirs, from our said Lord the King, and his heirs or his successors, free, quiet, entire, peaceable, and honourable possession, in perpetuity, with all the rights, liberties, and privileges belonging to said land, meadow above named, and forementioned Constabulary, fronting as at present, or in what manner soever in future, on performing annually therefore to the Lord the King, and his heirs or successors, namely, for the foresaid land, meadow, and Constabulary, with their rights, liberties, and privileges, the service attached to said Constabulary, as well as for all that in future may be required on account of the foresaid. In testimony of which, the common seal of the foresaid kingdom of Scotland has been affixed to the present writing. Given at Torphichen, on the 29th day of March, in the year of Grace 1298."

* Sir Andrew Murray, who was killed at the battle of Stirling, was married to a sister of Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch.—Vide *Scottish Baronage*.

† The arms of the Earl of Dunbar, were gules, a lion rampant, argent, within a bordure of the second, charged with a rose of the first. The banner of the son, at the siege of Carlaverock, was the same as that of the father, with the addition of a blue label.

Margaret the young Queen of Scotland. In 1291, he put in his claim to the crown, among the other competitors, founding his right on being the great-grandson of Ilda or Ada, the daughter of William king of Scots. On the commencement of hostilities between Edward and Baliol, he adhered to the former; but his castle of Dunbar being left in possession of his wife Margery, daughter of Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, she delivered it over to Baliol—conceiving the duties she owed her country paramount to the injunctions of her husband.

Whatever blame may be attached to this Earl, for the active part he took against the interest of Scotland, still the merit of consistency must be awarded to him in the crooked line of policy he adopted; for, having sworn fealty to Edward in 1291, he adhered to the interests of his overlord with zeal and fidelity. The answer* which he

* "Lychtly he lowch, in scorn as it had beyn,
And said; 'He had sic message seyldyn seyne,
That Wallace now as governour sall ryng:
Her is gret faute off a gud prince or kyng.
That king off Kyll I can nocht wnderstand;
Off him I held neur a fur off land.
That bachiller trowis, for fortoun schawis her quhell,
Thar with to lest; it sall nocht lang be weill.
Bot to yow, lordis, and ye will wnderstand,
I mak yow wyss, I aw to mak na band,
Als fre I am in this region to ryng,
Lord off myn awne, as euyr was prince or king.
In England als gret part off land I haiff;
Manrent tharoff thar will no man me craiff.
Quhat will ye mar? I warne yow, I am fre;
For your somoundis ye get no mar off me.'"

In corroboration of an insolent answer having been returned by the Earl of Dunbar, Dr. Jamieson quotes the following authority: "When summoned by the guardian of Scotland to attend a convention at Perth, he contemptuously refused. Blind Harrie is supported by the Tower Records." *Caledonia*, ii. p. 246.

Also on the following lines of the answer,

"That King off Kyll I can nocht wnderstand;
Off him I held neur a fur off land,"

the Doctor remarks "I need scarcely say, that the earl had given Wallace this contemptuous designation, as being a native of the district of Kyle in Ayrshire." It is with much reluctance we hazard an opinion at variance with so learned and respectable an authority as Dr. Jamieson, more particularly where the subject is one connected with a study, in the pursuit of which he has acquired a lasting and well-merited reputation. That the scoffing Earl intended any allusion to the birth-place of Wallace, by styling him "King of Kyle," we would feel inclined to question, even if it had been established that he was a native of that district. Kyle, as well as Carrick (two neighbouring districts of Ayrshire), are derived from the Celtic words, *Cóille*, and *Carraig*: the former signifying a forest, or woody district, and the latter the rocky portion of the country, two terms perfectly descriptive of the localities of both districts. Wallace had always been spoken of, by the English and their emissaries, as a leader of a banditti. Langtoft calls him "William Waleis that maister was of thieves;" and they represented him as a sort of Robin Hood, who had established his authority in the woods of Scotland, in the same manner as the "King of merry Sherwood" had done in the forest of that name. When Gospatrik, therefore, called Wallace "King of Kyle," we presume he meant to call him "King of the Forest," which implied a king of robbers and outlaws; and that this was the sense in which it was understood by him and the Scottish nobles, is evident from the indignation it excited, and the instant determination of the Guardian to

returned to Wallace and the Scottish barons assembled at Perth, is quite in accordance with that tone of independence assumed by the family, and which, according to Lord Hailes, was so prejudicial to Scotland.

After being driven from Scotland, as has already been stated, he continued to molest his countrymen as he found occasion. In 1298, he was actively engaged in the Scottish wars, and in November was appointed one of Edward's Lieutenants in Scotland. In 1300, he and his son*, a youth at that time about 15 years of age, were present at the siege of Carverock castle, when he must have been at least 58 years old. In 33d Edward I., he was to have attended the parliament as one of the representatives of the Commons of Scotland; but from some reason or other, he did not appear. On the 30th September, 1308, he was commanded by Edward II. to assist in suppressing the insurrection of Bruce, but what efforts he made, cannot well be ascertained. In the following year he died, and was succeeded by Patrick, his son by the daughter of the Earl of Buchan.

K.

CHARTER OF PROTECTION GRANTED TO THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF HEXCELDHAM.

Page 53.

"ANDREAS de Moravia et Willelmus Wallensis, *Duces exercitús Scotiae, nomine præclari Principis Domini Johannis, Dei gratiá, Regis Scotiae illustris, de consensu communitatis regni ejusdem, omnibus hominibus dicti regni ad quos præsentés literæ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis, nos, nomine dicti Regis, Priorem et Conventum de Hexhildesham in Northumbria, terras suas, homines suos, et universas eorum possessiones, ac omnia bona sua, mobilia et immobilia, sub firma pace et protectione ipsius Domini Regis, et nostra, justè suscepisse. Quare firmiter prohibemus, ne quis eis in personis, terris, seu rebus, malum, molestiam, injuriam, seu gravamen aliquod, inferre præsumat, super plenaria forisfactura ipsius Domini Regis, aut mortem eis, vel alicui eorum, inferat, sub pœna amissionis vitæ et membrorum; præsentibus post annum minimè valitoris. Dat. apud Hexhildesham, vii. die Novembris.*"—*W. Hemingford, t. i. p. 135* †.

revenge the insult which had been thus offered to himself and those under his authority. To have called him the king of the place in which he was born, could not be considered by Wallace as a very grievous insult, considering the situation he occupied. That *Cóille* was at one time generally used all over Scotland to designate a wood or forest, is evident from the names of many places in which the word can still be traced. It is, however, sometimes improperly confounded with *Cill* (a place of interment). We are afraid that the above etymology will not meet the approbation of the favourers of the pretensions of Old King Coilus, but this we cannot help; and have only to regret that the ancient language of the country has been so little consulted by those who engage to write its history.

* This youth succeeded to his father's honours in 1309, being then twenty-four years of age. The foreign predilections of the old baron, for a long time regulated the conduct of the son; and it was owing to him that Edward II. escaped the pursuit of Bruce, after the Battle of Bannockburn.

† A translation of the above document has been given by

L.

Page 54.

THE intentions of Edward to curtail the power of his barons, and render them more subservient to his will, were most unequivocally displayed in his proceedings towards Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, immediately after his return from the conquest of Scotland. The imperious language of the tyrant, and the bold and determined conduct of the vassal, the reader will find narrated in the extracts from Dr. Lingard, inserted in the concluding chapter of the narrative. The plans of Edward for the extinction of British freedom, were such as have been generally resorted to by other despots, who have encroached upon the rights of their subjects or neighbours. While the Scots were summoned to fight his battles in France, the Welsh were marched to Scotland to assist in the subjugation of that country; and had the former remained passive under the yoke, there is every reason to believe that they would soon, in their turn, have been employed to enforce the arbitrary measures of the ambitious monarch upon the subjects of his native kingdom. Thus Scotland, England, and Wales, would have mutually assisted in rivetting the fetters of each other.

M.

THE SETONS.

Page 55.

WITH respect to the fate of Cristell of Seyton, some little inquiry may be necessary. It is well known, that a person of his name appears to great advantage in the history of the struggles of Bruce, and afterwards became a martyr in his cause; of course, he could not have been the individual mentioned in the text. It appears from various sources, that there were three of the Seyton family, of the name of Christell, grandfather, father, and son. If any of these were killed in the above battle, it must have been the second, for the first, "a man given more to devotion nor worldliness," died in the reign of Alexander III. As the other two were both engaged in the contest for independence along with Wallace, the following account of them may

the writers nearly to the following effect:—"Andrew Murray and William Wallace, commanders of the army of Scotland, in the name of the excellent Prince Lord John, by the Grace of God, the illustrious King of Scotland, with the consent of the community of the same kingdom, to all men of the said kingdom, greeting. Know ye, that we, in the name of the said King, have taken the Prior and Convent of Hexhildesham in Northumberland, their lands, men, possessions, and all their goods, moveable and immovable, under the firm peace and protection of the said Lord the King and ours. Wherefore we strictly forbid you to do any hurt, mischief, or injury whatsoever, to them, in persons, lands, or goods, under penalty of forfeiture of your own goods and estates to the said Lord the King, or to kill them, or any of them, under pain of death. These presents to remain in force for one year, and no longer. Given at Hexhildesham the 7th day of November."

be interesting to the reader. It is taken from the History of the House of Seyton, by Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, and lately printed by the Maitland Club, from the MS. in the Advocates' Library.

"OFF CHRISTELL SEYTOUN,

The second of that name.

"Christell the second of that name succedit to Christell the first, his father, in the tyme of Alexander the Thryd, and was ane nobill man, and did mony gud actis aganis the Inglismen, quhen the Crowne was desolat and in pley betuix the Bruce and the Balioll. Quhilk Christell, quhen he nicht nocht brook the lawland of Lowthyan, quhair was his duelling place, duelt and remainit wyth his kyn and freyndis in Jedburgh forrest, ay awating his tyme contrare the Inglismen; and deit in the tyme of William Wallace."

"OFF CHRISTELL SEYTOUN,

The thryd of that name.

"Christell the thryd succedit to Christell the second, his father, in the tyme of Williame Wallace; quhilk Christell was efter maid knycht be King Robert Bruce, and for his monye gude actis done aganis the Inglismen, was callit Gud Sr Christell. Quha quhen King Robert Bruce was tane presonare in handis be the Inglismen at ane feild besyde Methven, and thay that tuke him cryit in scorn and derisioun, Quha will help the new maid King? quhilk cry the said Sr Christell hard, and come in all haist and straik at erd him that had the king in handis; and thair he and his freindis reskewit the said King Robert, and pat him to libertie. This Chrystell maryit the said King Robert Bruce sister, and thairfor the said King Robert gaif to the said Sr Chrystell the dowbil tresour of flour de leyis, to be worne about his armes and the armes of his posterité, lyk as the King weris thame. Efter mony grit and notabill actis done be the said Sr Chrystell contrair England, he was tane at the last, and had to London, and thair put to deid in maist cruell maner. In this mene tyme, King Robert Bruce happit to be in the toum of Dunfreis, and passand furth till ane lytill knoll besyd the said toum to tak the air, quhair the word and thyngis come to him of the crewell slaughter of the said Sr Chrystell, quhilk the king heirand maid grit lamentatioun wyth sum teiris, saying, It is ane pieté that sa nobill ane knycht suld die sa crewell ane deid. And incontinent, in the samin place quhair he wes standand quhen the thyngis come to him, gart found ane chapell in honour of the Virgene Marie; and in remembrance of the said Sr Chrystell foundit ane preist to do devyne service thairin perpetuallie, and pray for the said Schir Chrystell; and gaif to the said preist and his successoris the sowme of fyve pundis Streviling, to be tane of the baronie of Carlsruok, for thair sustentatioun. Quhilk fundatioun I haue had oft in my handis, and red it sindrie tymes. The quhilk chapell was standand hail and vndeacayit in the year of God Jm v^o lli^o yeiris, as I saw my self; and as I beleve standis yit in the samin maner, and is callit be all the inhabitaris in that cuntré Christillis chapell.

"ANE EIK OF S^r CHRISTOPHER OF SETOUN,

The thrid of that name.

"It is to wit that efter that I had wrytten the Historie of the Hous of Setoun, I haue fund in the greit Cronicles of Ingland, set furth sen I wret the historie of Setoun, quihilk ar as efter followis :

"Efter this was the castell of Lochdore taiken, and wythin it Christopher Seitoun, that had married the sister of Robert le Bruce ; [and because he was no Scot, but an Englishman borne,] the King of Ingland commandit that he suld be led wnto Dunfreis, quhar he had killit on of the Kingis knychtis, and thair to be hangit drawin and quarterit : The wyf of this Christopher Seitoun he apoyntit to be keipit in the monesterie of Thixell in Lyndsay."—"Morouer, the manor of Seitoun, in Quhytbestroud, he gaue wnto the Lord Edmonde de Mawlay, and those wther landis that belongeth to the said Christopher Seitoun in Northumberland he gaue wnto the Lord Williame Latemer."

"And howbeit that I wret of before as I was informit for the tyme, That the first tyme that King Robert the Bruce com to Dunfreiss efter that S^r Christopher Setoun was crewellie slane in Ingland, that in the sam place quhar the King was quhen the thyingis com till him he garde bige ane chapel, and dottit the samyng perpetuallie to pray for the said S^r Christopher ; bot now it apeiris be the Inglis Cronicles, That quhan the said King com to Dunfreis, that quhan it was reportit till him be the inhabeturis of the said toune the crewell marterdome of the said S^r Christopher, that he garde bige the said chapel in the samyng place quhar the said S^r Christopher was pute to deid and executtit. Of the quhilk chapel I haue red the foundatioun and infythem of ane priest onder the saidis kingis greit seill ; and hes hard Mes in the samyng chapel, quihilk standis as I beleif to this present day."—P. 18-21.

N.

MEMOIR OF FITZ-MARMADUKE.

Page 57.

"This stern soldier was the eldest son of Marmaduke Fitz-Geoffrey, Lord of Hordene, in the bishoprick of Durham, who, in the 45th Henry III., 1260-1, obtained the King's license to embattle his mansion-house there. In August 1282, John Fitz-Marmaduke, with nine other knights, performed services due from the Bishop of Durham, who styled him, on another occasion, 'Nostre tres cher bachelier, Monsr Jehan le Fitz-Marmaduk ; but from that time nothing is recorded of him, until February, 1301, when he was a party to the Letter from the Barons to the Pontiff, in which he is called 'Lord of Hordene,' excepting that he was at the siege of Carlaverock in June, 1300, where his bravery was particularly conspicuous. He came, we are told, to assail the castle with a great and full troop of good and select bachelors, and stood as firm as a post, and his banner received many a rent difficult to mend.

"It is most extraordinary, that for nearly twenty years, no notice can be found in the records of an individual who, at the end of that period, was a

party to an instrument from the Baronage of the realm ; and it was from this circumstance, the similarity of their arms, and his surname, that he was confounded with Marmaduke de Thweng in the "Synopsis of the Peerage."

"In the 31st Edward I., Fitz-Marmaduke was commanded to appear before the King on the first Sunday in Lent, with full powers from the community of the Bishoprick of Durham to accept his Majesty's mediation between them and the Bishop ; and, in April in the same year, he was appointed a Commissioner of Array. On the 30th September, 1st Edward II. 1307, he was ordered, with others, to proceed to Galloway, to repress the rebellion of Robert de Brus ; and, in October following he was commanded to serve with horse and arms against the Scots ; after which time his name does not occur among the writs of service. He continued in the wars of Scotland, "comme une estache ;" and, on the 21st June 1308, was again enjoined to oppose the attempts of Bruce. On the 16th February, 3d Edward II. 1310, he was authorized, with others, to treat with the Scots for a truce. Fitz-Marmaduke died in 1311, at which time he was governor of St. John's Town of Perth ; and a very curious fact is recorded respecting his funeral. He particularly requested to be interred within the precincts of the cathedral of Durham, but, as the state of the country prevented the removal of his corpse in the usual manner, his domestics adopted the expedient of dismembering the body, and then boiling the flesh from the bones ; by which means they preserved his reliques, until an opportunity offered of transmitting them with safety across the border. For this outrage against an ecclesiastical canon, which had been promulgated in consequence of the frequency of the practice, Cardinal Berengarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, imposed on the offenders the mild penance of attending their master's obsequies in the cemetery of the cathedral of Durham, having first used the authority of the church to ensure the quiet transportation of his remains.

"Fitz-Marmaduke was twice married ; first, to Isabella, sister and heiress of Robert Brus of Stanton, by whom he had Richard, his son and heir, and a daughter, Mary, who married — Lumley ; and, secondly, Ida, who survived him, and was living his widow in 1313. Richard Fitz-Marmaduke was Seneschal of the Bishoprick of Durham, and was slain, in 1318, by his kinsman Robert Neville, on the Old Bridge of Durham, as he was riding to hold the county court, which event is described as "a most strange and detestable action." Though married to Alianora —, he died without children, when Mary, his sister, became his heiress. She left issue Robert Lumley of Ravensholm, who married Lucia, the daughter and coheirress of Marmaduke de Thweng. They had issue a son, Marmaduke Lumley, whose representative is the present Earl of Scarborough."—*Siege of Carlaverock.*

O.

MEMOIR OF BRIAN FITZ-ALAN.

Page 58.

"BRIAN Fitz-Alan succeeded his father Brian before the 6th Edward I., and on the 6th April.

10th Edward I. 1282, and 14th June 1287, was summoned to serve with horse and arms in Wales. In the 19th Edward I. he obtained permission to make a castle of his house at Kilwardeby in Yorkshire; and in the following year, being one of King Edward's vicegerents in Scotland, he, with others, received that monarch's precept to give John de Balliol possession of the kingdom. He was a witness to that personage's surrender of his crown on the 10th July 1296, about which time he was constituted the King's Lieutenant in Scotland. Fitz-Alan was present at the siege of Carlaverock in June 1300; and in the ensuing February, was a party to the Letter from the Barons to Pope Boniface, in which he is styled, "Lord of Bedale." His seal affixed to that document has been the subject of remark, for instead of containing his arms, it presents a whimsical assemblage of animals, apparently consisting of two birds, a rabbit, a stag, and a pig or boar, all of which are looking to the dexter excepting the latter, which is regarding the chief, and is inscribed with this curious legend,

TOT. CAPITA. TOT. SENTENCIE.

"The inference to be drawn from this singular seal tends to establish, that its owner was eccentric or satirical; for it must either have been used from unmeaning caprice, or with the intention of ridiculing the devices in the signets of his contemporaries. The allusion in the poem (The Siege of Carlaverock) to the arms of Fitz-Alan, is too important to be allowed to pass unnoticed. It not only informs us of an event in his life, by proving that he had been involved in a dispute with Hugh Poyntz, but shows that it was always one of the fundamental laws of arms, that no two persons should bear the same ensigns, and that there was then sufficient pride felt on the point to resent its infringement.

"All that is farther known of Fitz-Alan is, that he was summoned to Parliament from the 23d June, 23d Edward I. 1295, to the 22d January, 33d Edward I. 1305, though he died in 1302. The name of his wife is not stated, but it is almost certain that he married late in life; for, according to a note of the inquisition held on his death, Maud his daughter was his heir; though, at the death of his brother Theobald Fitz-Alan, on the 1st Edward II. 1307-8, his heirs are said to have been Maud and Katherine, the daughters of his brother Brian Fitz-Alan, the former of whom was then aged seven years, and the latter five; so that Katherine, who made proof of her age on the 12th Edward II., was probably a posthumous child. A discrepancy, however, exists on the subject; for, agreeable to a note of the inquisition on the death of this baron, his daughter Maud was then eight years old, and Dugdale says that Katherine was at the same time aged six, which, if the other statement be correct, was impossible. Of these daughters, Maud married Sir Gilbert Stapleton, and, according to a pedigree in Dodsworth's MSS., secondly Thomas Sheffield; and Katherine became the wife of John Lord Grey of Rotherfield. Brian Fitz-Alan was buried in the south aisle of Bedale church in Yorkshire, and a sumptuous monument was there erected to his memory, a beautiful engraving and accurate description of which are given in Blore's "Monumental Remains." Sir Brian is

said to have possessed a very elegant figure, and manners highly polished for the age."—*Siege of Carlaverock.*

P.

MEMOIR OF AYMER DE VALLENCE, EARL OF PEMBROKE.

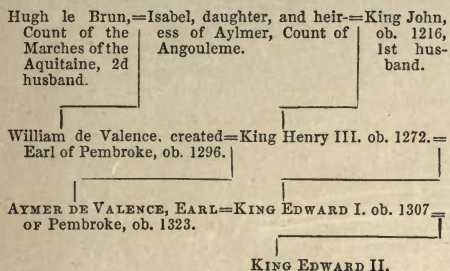
Page 66.

"AYMER DE VALENCE was the third son of William de Valence, who was created Earl of Pembroke by his uterine brother King Henry the Third. He was born about 1280, and succeeded his father in his honours on the 13th June 1296, both of his elder brothers having previously died without issue. The earliest notice of him which is recorded, is, that on the 26th January, 25th Edward I. 1297, he was summoned to Parliament as a baron, though, according to modern opinions on the subject, he was fully entitled to the earldom of Pembroke, nor was the title ever attributed to him in public records, until the 6th November, 1st Edward II. 1307; and the first writ to Parliament addressed to him as "Earl of Pembroke," was tested on the 18th of the following January. Upon this remarkable circumstance, some observations have been recently made; but it is wholly impossible to explain the cause of the anomaly in a satisfactory manner. Although never styled "Earl of Pembroke" until the accession of Edward II., it is manifest, that from the death of his father, he ranked above all barons excepting Henry of Lancaster, who being of the blood royal, is uniformly mentioned next to Earls; hence it appears, that notwithstanding his claim was not positively acknowledged, he was considered to be entitled to a higher degree of precedency than belonged to the baronial dignity. In the 25th Edward I., he was in the expedition into Flanders, and, in the same year, was appointed a commissioner to ratify an agreement between the King and Florence, Count of Holland, relative to some auxiliaries from the Count in that war; and was likewise one of the ambassadors sent by Edward to treat for a truce between England and France. In the 26th and 27th Edward I., he was in the Scottish wars, and in June 1300, in the 28th Edward I., was present at the siege of Carlaverock, when he must have been about twenty-one years of age; but the poet pays him no other compliment than what a pun upon his name suggested.

'Le Valence Aymars li Vaillans.'

"In the following year, he was a party to the Barons' letter to the Pope, in which, though his name occurs immediately after that of the Earl of Arundel, and before Henry de Lancaster's, he is only styled 'Lord of Montiniac.' Shortly afterwards, he was appointed to treat with the ambassadors of the King of France on the subject of peace. In the 31st Edward I., he was again in the wars of Scotland; and, in the same year, received permission to leave the realm upon his own affairs. He obtained a grant, in 1305, of the Castles of Selkirk and Traquair, and of the borough of Peebles in Scotland, to hold by the service of one knight's fee, together with other possessions in that kingdom; and, in the 34th Edward I., was constituted Guardian of the Marches of Scot-

land towards Berwick, when he was intrusted with the sole command of the English forces which had been levied against Robert Bruce. In the instrument by which he was appointed to that important duty, as well as in most others, he is styled "Dilectum consanguineum et fidelem nostrum." The appellation of "Cousin" was not then a mere title of honour, when addressed to a peer, but was used in its most literal sense; and Aymer de Valence's claim to it is shown by the following slight pedigree.



"The successes which attended this nobleman against Robert Bruce, are described by a contemporary chronicler; and it is said that Valence, after a severe contest, pursued Bruce, and presuming that he would take refuge in Kildrummie castle, he gained possession of that place, but finding only Nigel de Bruce, brother of Robert, there, he caused him and all who were with him, to be immediately hung. This action has given rise to some pertinent remarks by the able biographer of the Earl in the beautiful work before noticed*, who has satisfactorily shown that Nigel was not put to death by him, but that at least the forms of law were practised on the occasion. On the deathbed of Edward I., Pembroke, with some other personages, received the King's dying injunctions to afford his son their counsel and support, and not to permit Piers de Gaveston to return into England. His strict adherence to this command, naturally excited the favourite's displeasure; and he is said, in derision of his tall stature and pallid complexion, to have termed him 'Joseph the Jew.' In the first year of the young monarch's reign, Valence was, as has been before observed, allowed and summoned to Parliament by his proper title of Earl of Pembroke; and at the coronation of that monarch, he carried the King's left boot, but the spur belonging to it was borne by the Earl of Cornwall. In the same year, after performing homage upon the death of his mother for her lands, he was joined with Otho de Grandison in an embassy to the Pope; and in the 3d Edward II., was found heir to his sister Agnes, or more probably Anne. It has been considered, from the circumstance of the Earl being a witness to the instrument by which the King recalled Gaveston, and bestowed the possessions of the Earl of Cornwall upon him, that he approved of, or at least consented to, those acts; but this idea rests upon far too uncertain evidence to be relied upon; and if he ever changed his opinion, it was of short duration, for in the 3d Edward II., he joined the Earl of Lancaster

against Gaveston, and when he was banished the realm in 1311, the Earl of Pembroke was one of the persons deputed to petition the King that he should be rendered incapable of ever holding any office.

"In the 6th Edward II., he was again sent on a mission to Rome, and in the same year obtained a grant of lands in London, in which was included the New Temple. In the 7th Edward II. he was appointed Custos and Lieutenant of Scotland, until the arrival of the King, and was present at the fatal battle of Bannockburn. Two inedited MSS. cited in the 'Monumental Remains,' allude to the Earl's conduct on that occasion, in words fatal either to his loyalty or his courage: the one stating that 'Insuper Comes de Pembroc, Henricus de Bellomonte, et multi magnates, *cordetenus Pharisai*, a certamine recesserunt;' and the other, that 'in pedibus suis evasit ex acie et cum Valensibus fugientibus se salvavit.' In all probability, however, the language was in both instances that of an enemy, and deserves but little credit; though, even if it were true, 'there is no great disgrace,' as the learned biographer, from whose memoir these extracts are taken, has truly remarked, 'in seeking safety by flight when defeat was inevitable, and the whole army pursued a similar course.'

"In the 9th Edward II., the Earl was a commissioner for holding a Parliament in the King's absence, and he took an active part in the proceedings therein. Being sent to Rome on a mission to the Pontiff, a singular misfortune befel him, as he was taken prisoner on his return by a Burgundian called John de Moiller with his accomplices, and sent to the Emperor, who obliged him to pay a ransom of 20,000 pounds of silver, upon the absurd pretence that Moiller had served the King of England without being paid his wages. Edward used every exertion to procure the Earl's liberty, and wrote to several sovereign princes, soliciting them to interfere on the subject; but he did not immediately succeed. In the 11th Edward II., Pembroke was once more in the Scottish wars, and was appointed governor of Rockingham castle; and upon the King's purposed voyage in the 13th Edward II., to do homage to the King of France for the Duchy of Aquitaine, he was constituted Guardian of the realm during his absence, being then also Custos of Scotland. In the 15th Edward II., he sat in judgment on the Earl of Lancaster at Pontefract; and for his conduct on the occasion, was rewarded with the grant of several manors.

"In March, 1309, the Earl of Pembroke was one of the peers appointed to regulate the royal household; in the 5th Edward II., he was commanded not to approach the place where the Parliament was held with an armed retinue, or in any other manner than was observed in the time of the late King; in the 8th Edward II., he was a commissioner to open and continue a parliament at York; in the 12th Edward II., he was sent to Northampton with others to treat with the Earl of Lancaster, for the better government of the realm, and was one of the peers then appointed to be about the King's person, at which time he signed the agreement between the King and that Earl; he advised the reversal of the judgment against Hugh le Despencer the younger; by writ tested on the 19th January, 14 Edward II. 1321, he was appointed a

* Blore's "Monumental Remains."

commissioner to treat for peace with Robert de Brus; and in the 18th Edward II., the Earl, as Justice in Eyre of the Forest of Essex, claimed the appointment of Marshal thereof.

"The Earl of Pembroke accompanied Isabel, Queen of England, to France in 1323; and is said to have lost his life in that year, at a tournament given by him, to celebrate his nuptials with his third wife, Mary, daughter of Guy de Chastillon, Count of St. Paul's; though, from the obscure manner in which his death is mentioned by some chroniclers, and the attempt which they have made to consider it as a mark of the vengeance of heaven for his conduct relative to the Earl of Lancaster, Dugdale asserts that he was murdered on the 23d June, 1324, 'by reason he had a hand' in that affair. But the former statement his recent biographer considers to be corroborated by the following lines in a long MS. poem, containing a Life of the Earl, in the Cottonian collection, written by Jacobus Nicholaus de Dacia, who calls himself a scholar of Mary de St. Paul, Countess of Pembroke; by which he probably meant that he belonged to Pembroke Hall, which she had founded.

*'Mors Comitem Comitum necuit, mors ipsa cruenta
Ipsa cruore rubrum campum facit et rubicundum.'*

"From the annexed account of the Earl's death, however, by another contemporary writer, it would appear that he died of apoplexy:

"*'Ea vero tempestate primorum consultu direxit ad partes transmarinas Rex Almaricum de Valencia Comitem de Penbrokia, virum siquidem ad queque nepharia peragenda iuxta sue propinquitatis nequiciam continue paratum, regis Francorum presencie nuncium super dictis negociis assistendum vt eiusdem regis Francorum animum ab ineptis revocaret, ut ipsius benevolenciam affectum regis Anglorum varijs blandicijs inclinaret. Quo perveniente, ac iuxta proposita suorum verborum responsis acceptis, per Pykardiam rediens, ad quoddam municipium mi. villa, id est, dimidia villa, nuncupatum, tribus leucis a Compyne distans, in vigilia Sancti Johannis, declinavit pransurus, ubi Christus voluit virum sanguineum et dolosum non dimidiare dies suos. Sed finita refectionis hora thalamum ingreditur, deambulando statim in atrio corruit, ac sine confessione et viatico salutari infelicem animam subito in solo sufflavit *.'*"

The following account of the Earl of Pembroke is from the pen of Hutchinson. "This Earl" (Adomer de Valence) "seemed to have a divine interdiction depending over him, and the immediate vindictive hand of Providence to be upon him and his posterity for his atrocious deeds. He was a tool to his prince, and servilely submitted to the mandate of the crown, contrary to the dictates of humanity, honour, and justice. He sat in judgment on Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and impiously acquiesced in his sentence. He was a chief instrument in apprehending the famous Scottish patriot Wallace in 1305; accomplishing his capture by the treachery of his most intimate associates, and those in whom he placed his utmost confidence, Sir John Menteith and others of infamous memory. Adomer, on his bridal day, was slain in a tournament, held in honour of his nuptials; and left a

wife at once a *maiden, bride, and widow*. It is said that, for several generations of this family, a *father was never happy enough to see his son*, the proscribed parent being snatched off by the hand of death before the birth of his issue." (*Hutchinson's History of Northumberland.*)

It may be also remarked as a singular coincidence, the fatality which attended the Stuarts after they came to the throne, not one of whom, for many generations, died a natural death. John Menteith was the son of Walter Stuart, Earl of Menteith, and of the same family which afterwards swayed the Scottish sceptre.

Aymer, or Adomer de Valence, is likewise charged by the Minstrel, as being the instrument made use of for corrupting the fidelity of Menteith; and he mentions, that the infamous bargain was finally concluded in "*Ruglyne Kirk*," where the two met by appointment, and that Menteith received from Valence three thousand crowns of gold as the price of his friend. "*Ruglyne*" is situated nearly mid-way between Bothwell and Dumbarton castles; the former being the place where the Earl of Pembroke usually resided when in Scotland, and was quite convenient for his keeping an appointment at "*Ruglyne*" with the governor of Dumbarton Castle. When it is recollected, that John Comyn, who, according to "*Douglas's peerage*," married a sister of Valence, was hatching the treason which he afterwards put in practice against Bruce, at the time when his brother-in-law was tampering with the friend of Wallace, it will not be doing him great injustice, if we suppose him at least in the secret of the infamous transaction with Menteith. In fact, both of these deeds of darkness appear to have been part of the same plan for placing Comyn, and consequently the sister of the Earl of Pembroke, on the Scottish throne.

The Earl was thrice married; first, to Beatrix, daughter of Ralph de Noel, Constable of France; secondly, to a daughter of the Earl of Barre; and thirdly, to Mary, daughter of Guy de Chastillon, Count of St. Paul; but he had no issue; and the descendants of his sisters, Isabel, the wife of John Baron Hastings, and Joan, who married John Comyn of Badenoch, are consequently his representatives. His eldest sister, Anne, married, first, Maurice Fitz-Gerard; secondly, Hugh de Balliol; and, lastly, John de Avennes; and probably died, s. r. in the 3d Edward II.

Mary, Countess of Pembroke, is chiefly known to the present age by an action, which seldom fails to ensure immortality. She was the foundress of a College for the purposes of learning and religion, which still bears the name of Pembroke Hall; and was likewise a benefactress to several religious houses. She died about 1376; and on the 13th March in that year made her will at Braxted, in Essex, by which she ordered her body to be buried in the church of the sisters of Denny, where she had caused her tomb to be made; and bequeathed to the church of the Abbey of Westminster, where her husband was interred, a cross, with a foot of gold and emeralds, which Sir William de Valence, Knight, brought from the Holy Land.

The body of the Earl of Pembroke was conveyed to England, and buried in Westminster Abbey; but upon the beautiful tomb erected by his memory, it is unnecessary to say a single word, ample justice having been done to it by the artist

* "Siege of Carlaverock."

and the author of a biographical notice, which accompanies a recent engraving of his tomb.

Siege of Carlaverock.

Q.

MEMOIR OF HENRY DE LACY, EARL OF LINCOLN.

Page 69.

"HENRY DE LACY was the eldest son of Edmund de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, by Alice, the daughter of the Marquess of Saluces, in Italy. He succeeded his father in the earldom in 1257, at which time he was probably about nine years of age, his parents having been married in May, 1247. The first circumstance relating to the Earl after his birth, of which we have any notice, was his marriage, in 1256, to Margaret, the eldest daughter and co-heiress of William de Longespee, the covenants of which are given by Dugdale. In 1269, the Earl became involved in a dispute about some lands with John, Earl Warren, and each party prepared to establish his claim by force of arms; but their intention becoming known to the King, he commanded his Justices to hear and determine the cause, who decided it in favour of the Earl of Lincoln. William de Longespee, his wife's father, died in the 52d Henry III.; and soon afterwards the Countess and her husband performed homage for, and obtained livery of, all the lands which had in consequence devolved upon her. In her right he is considered to have become Earl of Salisbury, the said William de Longespee having been entitled to that dignity, though he was never allowed it, as son and heir of William de Longespee, the natural son of King Henry II., by the well-known Rosamond Clifford, who obtained the Earldom of Salisbury by his marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of William d'Evereux. On the feast of St. Edward, 18th March, 1272, the Earl of Lincoln received the honour of knighthood, and in the same year was appointed Governor of Knaresborough Castle. In 5th Edward I. he had livery of the fee which his ancestors had usually received '*nomine comitatûs Lincoln'* with all the arrears from the time he was invested by King Henry III. with the sword of that earldom. Upon several occasions, between the 6th and 10th Edward I., he obtained grants of fairs, markets, and free-warrens in different parts of his domains; and in the year last mentioned, he accompanied the expedition then sent into Wales. Leland asserts that the Earl built the town of Denbigh, the land of which had been granted to him "from his having married into the blood of those princes, and that he walled it, and erected a castle, on the front of which was a statue of him in long robes; and that anciently prayers were offered in Saint Hillary's chapel in that place, for Lacy and Percy.

"Dugdale considers, that his surrender of the castle and barony of Pontefract to the King, with all the honours thereto belonging, in the 20th Edward I., arose from his "having been long married, and doubting whether he should ever have issue, but upon condition, as it seems," for the king, by his charter, acted at Newcastle-on-Tyne, 28th December, 21st Edward I., re-granted the same to

him and to the heirs of his body, with remainder to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, the King's brother, and to the heirs of his body, failing which, to the king and his heirs. In almost the next paragraph, however, that eminent writer says, "that in the 22d Edward I., the Earl received a grant of several manors from the King, with remainder to Thomas, the son of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, and Alice his wife, sole daughter of the Earl, and to the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten, and failing such issue, to the right heirs of the said Thomas," from which it would appear, that, at the time of the surrender by the Earl of Lincoln to the King, the said Alice was living; and which is further confirmed by his saying, in a subsequent page, that she was twenty-eight years of age at the death of her father in 1312, in which case she must have been above seven at the time in question. In the 20th Edward I., the Earl was sent as ambassador to the King of France, to treat on the subject of the restraint of those pirates who robbed some French merchants; and in the 22d year of that monarch he again attended him into Wales, and was likewise in the expedition sent into Gascony. He accompanied the Earl of Lancaster, in the 24th Edward I., into Brittany, and was present at various successes of the English forces. On the death of that nobleman, he succeeded him in his command, and besieged the town of Aux with great vigour, though without success, and was forced to retreat to Bayonne; from which place he marched, with John St. John, towards Bellegard, which was then besieged by the Count d'Artois. The engagement which took place in the vicinity of that town, does not, from Dugdale's relation of it, appear to have added to the reputation of the Earl, as he informs us, upon the authority of Walsingham, that "approaching a wood about three miles from Bellegard, he divided his army into two parts, whereof the van was led by John de St. John, and the rear by himself; but having past the wood where St. John, meeting the enemy, began the fight, discerning their strength, he retreated to Bayonne, leaving the rest to shift for themselves, so that St. John and many others were by reason thereof taken prisoners." Whatever stain this circumstance might have cast upon his military character, seems to have been partially removed towards the end of that year, by his having obliged the enemy to raise the siege which they had laid to St. Catherine's, in Gascony; soon after which he proceeded into Flanders, and thence returned to England. In the ensuing year, 27th Edward I., he was summoned by writ, tested 17th September, 27th Edward I., 1299, to be at York, with horse and arms, on the morrow of the Feast of St. Martin, to serve against the Scots; and, in the next year, he is stated to have been sent to the Pope, with Sir Hugh Spencer, to complain of injuries received from the Scots; and about the same time he was appointed Lieutenant of Gascony. In the 29th Edward I., he was made Governor of Corfe Castle, from which year until the 31st Edward I., when he was joined in commission with the Bishop of Winchester to treat of peace between England and France, Dugdale gives no account of him.

"It was, however, on the 24th June, in the 29th Edward I., anno 1300, when the Earl must have been about fifty years of age, that he commanded the first division of the army which besieged Car-

laverock Castle. The only characteristic trait recorded of him by the poet, is that of valour, which, we are told, was the principal feeling that animated his heart, and in so rude an age, this attribute was perhaps the highest and most gratifying praise that could be imagined. His name does not afterwards occur in that production, from which we may conclude, that his services at the siege and assault were not very conspicuous. In 1305, the Earl was again employed on a mission to the Pope, being deputed with the Bishops of Lichfield and Worcester to attend the inauguration of the Pontiff at Lyons, and to present him, in the name of the King, with several vessels of pure gold. After having executed this command, it appears that he was once more in the wars in Gascony, and in the ensuing year was similarly employed in Scotland. Upon the death of the King, at Burgh, in Cumberland, the Earl was one of the Peers who attended him in his last moments, and received his solemn request to be faithful to his son, and not to allow Piers de Gaveston to return into England. Immediately after Edward's demise, he joined some Earls and Barons in a solemn engagement to defend the young King, his honour and authority; and at his coronation he is recorded to have carried one of the swords borne at that ceremony; shortly after which he was appointed Governor of Skipton Castle. His conduct seems to have secured the confidence of the new monarch, for, upon his expedition towards Scotland in the third and fourth years of his reign, the Earl of Lincoln was constituted Governor of the realm during his absence.

"The preceding account of this personage has been almost entirely taken from Sir William Dugdale's Baronage. The only facts which have been ascertained relating to him, not stated in that work, are, that he was one of the Mainpernors for the Earl of Gloucester, in 1292; that he was a Receiver and Trier of Petitions in 1304; that he was present in the parliament held at Carlisle in February, 35th Edward I., 1307; and that he was one of the Peers appointed to regulate the King's household in May, 3d Edward II., 1309.

"His works of piety were proportionate to his extensive possessions, and, adopting this criterion of his religious sentiments, we may conclude that he was not behind his contemporaries in superstition or devotion. Amongst his more substantial gifts to the church, was his large contribution to the "new work" at St. Paul's Cathedral in London; and three gilt crosses and a carbuncle, and a cup of silver gilt, which was said to have belonged to the shrine of St. Edmund, in the abbey of Salley.

"The Earl of Lincoln closed a long and active career in 1312, at Lincoln's Inn*, in the suburbs of London, being then about sixty-three or sixty-four years of age, and he is reported to have called his son-in-law, the Earl of Lancaster, to him, upon his death-bed, and, after representing how highly

"it had pleased God to honour and enrich him above others," he told him that "he was obliged to love and honour God above all things;" and then added, 'Seest thou the Church of England, heretofore honourable and free, enslaved by Romish oppressions, and the King's wicked exactions? Seest thou the common people, impoverished by tributes and taxes, and, from the condition of freemen, reduced to servitude? Seest thou the nobility, formerly venerable throughout Christendom, vilified by aliens, in their own native country? I therefore charge thee, by the name of Christ, to stand up like a man for the honour of God and his church, and the redemption of thy country, associating thyself to that valiant, noble, and prudent person, Guy, Earl of Warwick, when it shall be most proper to discourse of the public affairs of the kingdom, who is so judicious in counsel, and mature in judgment. Fear not thy opposers who shall contest against thee in the truth, and if thou pursuest this my advice, thou shalt gain eternal honour!" This patriotic speech, which is attributed to him by Walsingham, who wrote in the fifteenth century, is worthy of attention, as conveying the view taken of the affairs of the period by a monk about one hundred years afterwards; for it would require extraordinary credulity to consider that it was really uttered by the dying Earl, whose whole life does not appear to present a single action indicative of the sentiments there attributed to him. His body was buried in the eastern part of St. Paul's Cathedral, in London, between the chapel of our Lady and that of St. Dunstan.

"The Earl of Lincoln was twice married, first to Margaret de Longespee before-mentioned, by whom he had a son, Edmond de Lacy, who was drowned in a well in a high tower, called the Red Tower, in Denbigh Castle, in his father's lifetime; and a daughter, Alice, the wife of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who was his sole heiress, and, at the Earl's death, was twenty-eight years of age. His second wife was Joan, sister and heiress of William Baron Martin, who survived him, and was remarried to Nicholas Baron Audley.

"Alice, Countess of Lancaster, whose romantic life has been made the subject of a popular novel, styled herself, as sole inheritrix of the extensive possessions of her father and mother, Countess of Lincoln and Salisbury. She was thrice married; first to the Earl of Lancaster; secondly, to Eubolo le Strange; and, thirdly, to Hugh le Prenes; but died without issue on the Thursday next after the feast of St. Michael, 22d Edward III., *i. e.* 2nd October, 1348, when the representation of the powerful house of Lacy became vested in the descendants of Maud, the sister of Henry, Earl of Lincoln, who married Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester."—*Siege of Carlaverock.*

R.

MEMOIRS OF RICHARD SIWARD, AND WALTER DE HUNTERCOMBE.

Page 72.

WE shall here insert some account of Richard Seward and Walter de Huntercombe, two cha-

* This celebrated Inn of Court is recorded to have been the town residence of the Bishops of Chichester, from the reign of Henry III. till that of Henry VIII. It seems, however, to have been for a short time possessed by the subject of this memoir, who, although the only Earl of Lincoln who resided there, left it the name, which it has permanently retained during the five subsequent centuries. The arms of Lacy, on the gatehouse in Chancery-Lane, were erected by Sir Thomas Lovel, together with his own, 1518.

acters who appeared on this occasion. The latter, besides being at the siege of Carlarverock, where he attracted the notice of the poet, who mentions him as the handsome Huntercombe, bearing "ermine with two red gemmells," was also governor of Edinburgh castle, and engaged in almost every campaign which Edward made in Scotland. The following notice, therefore, abridged from Mr. Nicolas, will be useful in supplying that information respecting him which it has been inconvenient to give in the course of the narrative. It is also the more necessary, from the circumstance of the writer being pledged, in the advertisement of the "Life of Wallace," to furnish "biographical notices of contemporary English and Scottish warriors" who figured in the contest between the two countries.

RICHARD SIWARD.—"Though this individual is frequently spoken of in the records of his day, yet very few particulars are known that can throw much light on his family pedigree. It has been conjectured, that he was descended from Syward, the great Saxon Earl of Northumberland; but of this, however, there is little certainty. His importance appears to have been considerable; for we find that, on 18th November, 1292, he was appointed by Edward I. (in his character of Umpire on the question of the Succession) to act as Governor of the Castles of Dumfries, Wigton, and Kirkeudbright. On the 22d April, 1294, he obtained a grant of the marriage of the widow of Simon Fresel, or Frazer; and on the 15th October, in the same year, he was summoned to attend the English monarch, with all his retainers, in the expedition to Wales. Towards the end of 1295, he affected to unite with the Scottish Barons in their attempt to restore their King to the dignity of an independent sovereign, and, in consequence, had the defence of the Castle of Dunbar assigned to him. How he conducted himself on that occasion, has already been noticed. His subsequent confinement in the Tower, has been adduced by some writers as a powerful argument against the charge of treason brought against him by his countrymen. We cannot, however, see it in that light. His treachery was of the most profligate description. By negotiating the surrender of a fortress, which, from its strength and importance, was reckoned in those days the key of the kingdom, and also using it, at the same time, as a trap to ensnare the greater part of the nobility, was conduct that required the exercise of some *ruse* in order to lessen the odium it was calculated to excite even in the estimation of the English nobility, who must otherwise have looked with disgust on a man who could have acted in so base a manner towards his own countrymen. By the following lines of Peter Langtoft, Siward appears to have had for some time a private understanding with the enemy:

'A knyght was tham among, Sir Richard Seward,
Tille our faith he be long, & with kyng Edward.
Tille our men he com tite, & said, 'the Scottis wilde
The dayes haf respite, & than the castelle zelde.
To the Baliol suld thei send, ther castelle to rescue,
Bi that bot he vs mend with for zow to remue
The castelle ze salle haue, without any delay.'

Vol. ii. p. 274, 5.

"For the performance of this agreement, host-

ages were given to the English, and a messenger despatched to acquaint Baliol that a truce had been obtained; which he was instructed to say, was effected entirely by the dexterity of Siward, and his personal influence with a number of the English nobles. Baliol was also advised to advance and attack the English army while 'at meat,' and that, at the same time, Siward would make a sally to assist him in destroying the enemy—which the messenger spoke of as a matter of certainty, and moreover counselled Baliol to proceed immediately afterwards and plunder Northumberland.

"On the third day, Siward, from the battlements of Dunbar, discovered the Scottish army rapidly approaching towards him; he therefore hastily sought the English head-quarters, and proffered to go personally and retard the advance of the Scots till the expiry of the time stipulated for by the agreement. The English, however, were not inclined to believe that he would carry his treason quite so far, and refused him permission to proceed to the Scottish lines*.

"Siward, on being relieved from his confinement in the Tower, rose high in the confidence of Edward. On 26th September, 1298, 7th May and 16th June, 1299, he was summoned, by the title "Baron," to serve in Scotland. His name appears on several occasions in the Wardrobe Account of 28th Edward I. In that year he received 41*l.* 5*s.* for the services of himself and his followers in the garrison of Lochmaben. Also an allowance of 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the value of a horse killed at Kirkeudbright; eight merks for a winter dress (robe); and the like sum appears to have been paid to him for a summer dress. In the same year he was again summoned for the Scottish war, and also in 1301. He was made sheriff of Dumfries-shire in 1305, and was also aiding in the suppression of Robert Bruce in 1308; in which year he was appointed to the charge of a district in Galloway, under Edward II. In 1309 he was governor or constable of Dumfries, and is supposed to have died in 1310.

"By his wife Mary he had two sons, Richard and John. They both attained the age of manhood; and John, in particular, appears to have followed the crooked anti-patriotic policy of his father. He accompanied the Earl of Pembroke in his invasion of Fife, as has been already mentioned, and was rewarded by Edward with an appointment as Governor of Perth. Little appears to have been known of Richard. He was married to Elizabeth ——— in 1296. The arms of Siward, as has been already noticed, were sable, a cross fleury, argent.

"WALTER DE HUNTERCOMBE succeeded his father in his lands in the 55th Henry III., at which time he was of full age; and shortly afterwards married Alice, third daughter and co-heiress of Hugh de Bolebec, and who, in the 2d Edward I., was found to be one of the co-heirs of Richard de Muntfichet, in right of her grandmother Margery, his sister. In the 5th Edward I. he paid 50*l.* for his relief of the barony of Muschamp; and on the

* *Vide* Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 275, 6. This author does not say a word of Baliol and his barons having been made acquainted with the agreement to surrender the castle on the third day.

12th December in that year, was summoned to serve with horse and arms against the Welsh : he received similar writs tested 6th April and 24th May, 10th Edward I., and 14th June, 15th Edward I. He was one of the peers who were present in parliament in the 18th Edward I., when a grant was made to the King, for the marriage of his eldest daughter, of the same aid as had been given to Henry III. for the marriage of his daughter the Queen of Scotland ; and shortly afterwards the Isle of Man was intrusted to his charge, but which he only held three years, as, in obedience to the King's commands, he surrendered his trust to John de Baliol in the 21st Edward I. In the 19th Edward I., by writ tested the 16th April at Darlington, he was ordered to be at Norham, equipped for the field by the ensuing Easter ; and obtained a charter of free-warren in all his demesne lands in the county of Northumberland before the end of that year. On the 26th June, 1294, Huntercombe was ordered to join the expedition then made into Gascony. His military services, during the remainder of the reign of Edward I. were incessant, for he was in the Scottish wars in the 25th, 26th, 28th, 31st, and 34th years of that monarch ; was Governor of Edinburgh Castle in the 26th ; Lieutenant of Northumberland in the 27th Edward I. ; and afterwards Warden of the Marches there. In the 28th Edward I. we find that he was at the siege of Carlarverock ; and in the next year he was a party to the letter to Pope Boniface, in which he is called 'Walter, Lord of Huntercombe.' It appears from the Wardrobe Accounts of the 28th Edward I., that he was allowed 10*l.* as a compensation for a black nag which was killed by the Scots at Flete, on the 6th August, 1299. But the nature and extent of Huntercombe's services are best shown by his own statement of them in his petition to the King in the 35th Edward I., praying a remission of his scutage for the expeditions in which he had been engaged, with which prayer the crown complied. He says, that he had been in all the wars of Scotland up to that time ; namely, in the first war at Berwick with twenty horse ; then at Stirling with thirty-two horse, in the retinue of the Earl of Warren ; then at Le Vaire Chapelle with thirty horse in the retinue of the Bishop of Durham ; afterwards at Gaway with sixteen horse ; and that he sent eighteen horse to the last battle, though he was not present himself, being then Warden of the Marches of Scotland and Northumberland. From that year nothing more is known of this Baron, excepting that he was summoned to Parliament from the 23d June, 23d Edward I., 1295, to the 16th June, 14th Edward II., 1311, and died in 1312 ; but after the 25th Edward I. he was probably prevented by age from taking an active part in public affairs, for even allowing him to have been but twenty-one in the 55th Henry III., he must have been above sixty in 1307 ; which calculation makes him to have been about fifty when he was at Carlarverock, and sixty-four at his decease. Though he was twice married he died without issue. His first wife was Alice de Bolebec, before mentioned ; but we only know that the Christian name of his second was Ellen, and that she survived him. Nicholas Newbaud, his nephew, son of his sister Gunnora, was found to be his heir.

"The arms of Huntercombe were ermine, two bars gemells, gules."

S.

MEMOIR OF SIR SIMON FRASER.

Page 76.

THIS warrior appears to have been most actively engaged in the battle of Roslin ; and the renown which has in consequence attached itself to his name, will perhaps render the following notice of him acceptable.

Simon de Fraser was the eldest son of Simon de Frazier, the ancestor of the baronial houses of Saltoun and Lovat ; and is supposed to have been a near connexion of William Frazier, Bishop of St. Andrew's, whose politics he appears in his early years to have adopted ; for, when he was taken prisoner on the surrender of the castle of Dunbar in 1296, he swore fealty to Edward, and remained faithful to the English interest till 1302. He was repeatedly summoned to fight against his countrymen, particularly on 26th September 1293, and 7th May 1299. He also figured at the siege of Carlarverock in 1300 as a Baron ;—in the same year, he was appointed Warden of the Forest of Selkirk, and, by that designation, the truce between the two countries was announced to him on the 30th October. In the same year, the sum of 64*l.* 18*s.* is charged in the Wardrobe Account as having been paid him as the wages of himself and a retinue of three knights and twelve esquires, from 13th July till 3d September, at which time his horses were valued, and hire for fifty-nine days allowed him. There is also an allowance of 17*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the maintenance of his wife Lady Mary, her daughters and family, living in the castle of Jedworth, by the grant of the King, from Christmas till St. John Baptist's day, twenty-six weeks, at a merk per week, as per agreement with the Steward of Berwick-upon-Tweed*. On his withdrawing from Edward, he joined Comyn, and gained the battle of Roslin, as has already been observed. When the English afterwards succeeded in subduing Scotland, a severe penalty was inflicted upon him ; he was banished from all the territories belonging to, or under the influence of England, for three years, and his rents for that time forfeited. In 1306 he joined Bruce ; but having unfor-

* From the following reproof, which he gave the Treasurer at Roslin, it would appear that these, or similar moneys due to him, had not been justly settled for ; and perhaps the chagrin he felt on that account may have partly occasioned his defection from Edward.

"Symon was austere, to Rauf spak fullu grim :

'That mad the Treasorer thou has deceyved him,

& me & many mo, fro our wages zede quite.

Sir Rauf thou recseyved tho, bi taile & bi scrute,

Thou didd vs more traualle, ilk man thou reft his wage.

Now salle I wite the taile, & put the in the Aterage,

Of preste thou has no merke, albe ne non amite,

Bot laced in a hauberke, thai is no clerkis abite.

For alle tho clerkes of Rome, that sing in kirke or rede,

Thou salle haf thi dome, als thou serued in dede."

Langloft, vol. ii. p. 319.

tunately fallen into the hands of the enemy, he was conveyed to London and ordered by Edward for execution;—after being drawn and quartered, his head was fixed upon London Bridge. “But,” says Mr. Nicholas, “a much more minute and curious account is given of the tragical termination of Frazer’s life in a fragment of an inedited chronicle in the British Museum of the fifteenth century*, from which Mr. Ritson printed the subjoined extract in illustration of a poem which will be more fully noticed.

“The fryday next before assumpcioun of oure lady, King Edeward mette Robert the Brus bides seynt Johns toune in Scotland and with his companye, of whiche companye King Edewarde quelde sevene thowsand. When Robert the Brus saw this myschif, and gan to flee, and hovd hym that men mygte nought hym fynde, but Sr Simond Frisell persuede hym score, so that he turnede ayen and abode bataille, for he was a worthy knyght and a bolde of body, and the Englishe men persuede hym sore yn every syde, and quelde the stede that Sr Symond Frisell rood upon, and ther toke hym and lad hym to the host. And Sr Symond began for to flater and speke faire, and saide, Lordys, I shall yeve you iij thousand marke of sylver, and myne hors and harneys, and all my armure and vicome. Tho answerd Theobaude of Pevenes, that was the Kinge’s archer, Now God me so helpe hit is for nought that thou spexte, for alle the gold of Engelonde I wold the noght lete gone withoute commandement of King Edeward. And tho was he lad to the King. And the King wolde not see hym, but commaunded to lede hym away to his dome to London on our Ladyes even nativite, and he was honge and drawe, & his heede smyten of, and honged ayene with chynes of jren oppon the galwes, and his hede was sette oppon London brug on a sper. And ayens Cristesmasse the body was brent, for enchesoun that the men that kepte the body by nyghte sawe meny devellis rampande with jren crokes, rennyng upon the gallews, and horribliche tormented the body; and meny that ham sawe, anon after thei deied for dred, or woxen mad, or sore sykenesse thei had.”

In one of the Harleian manuscripts †, there is a ballad written on the subject, a few years after the circumstance took place, and which was published by Ritson ‡. The following stanzas are so extremely interesting, from the manner in which Frazer is alluded to, that, notwithstanding the length to which they extend, it is impossible to avoid inserting them. After noticing the capture and the fate of his unfortunate companions, the poet says:—

“Thenne saide the iustice that gentil is ant fre,
Sire Simond Frysel, the Kynges traytour hast thou be,
In water ant in londe that monie myhten se,
What sayst thou thareto, how wolt thou quite the?
Do say.
Sa foul he him wiste,
Nede waron truste
Forto segge nay.

Ther he was ydemed, so hit wes londes lawe,
For that he wes lordswyk furst he wes to drawe,
Upon a retheres hude forth he wes tyght,
Sum while in ys time he wes a modi knycht,
In huerte.

Wickednesse and sunne
Hit is lutel wunne,
That maketh the body smerte

For al is grete poer yet he wes ylaht,
Falsnesse and swykedom all hit g’eth to nacht
Tho he wes in Scotland lutel wes ys thoht,
Of the harde iugement that him wes bysocht
In stounde.

He wes foursithe forswore
To the King ther bifore,
And that him brohte to grounde.

With feteres and with gyves ichot he wes to drowe,
From the tour of Londone, that monie myhte knowe,
In a curtel of burel aselkethe wyse,
Ant a gerland on ys heued of the newe gwysse,

Thurh Cheepe
Moni mon of Engelonde,
For to se Symond,
Thideward on lepe.

Tho he come to galwes furst he wes an honge,
Al quick byheueded, thah him thohte longe,
Seth the he wes yopened, is boweles ybrend,
The heued to Londone brugge wes send,

To shonde:
So ich ever mote the
Sum while wende he
Thes lutel to stonde.

He rideth thourh the site as y telle may,
With gomen and wyth solas, that wes here play,
To Londone brugge hee nome the way,
Moni wes the wyves chil that ther on laketh a day,

Ant seide alas
That he was ibore,
And so villiche forlore,
So feir mon ase he was.

Now stont the heued above the tubrugge,
Faste bi Waleis, soth forte sugge,
After secour of Scotland longe he mowe pryde,
Ant after help of France, met halt hit to lye,

Ich wene.
Betere him were in Scotland,
With is ar in ys hond,
To pleyen othe grene.

Ant the body hongeth at the galwes faste
With yrene clasps longe to laste,
Forte wyte wel the body, and Scottysch to garste,
Foure and twenti the beoth to sothe ate laste,

By nychte,
Yef eny were so hardi
The body to remny,
Also to dyhte.

Frazer left two daughters, his co-heirs, one of whom married Sir Patrick Fleming, ancestor of the Earls of Wigton; and the other named Mary, was the wife of Sir Gilbert Hay, ancestor of the Marquess of Tweedale. From Alexander Frazer his brother the Barons Saltoun and Lovat descended.

The arms of Simon Frazer were, sable, semée of roses argent; but the descendants of his brother bear, azure, three cinque foils argent.

After this notice of so distinguished a leader among the Scots, the reader may reasonably be

* Harl. MSS. 266.

† Harl. MSS. No. 2253.

‡ Ancient Songs.

supposed to feel some curiosity respecting the English general,

SIR JOHN SEGRAVE.

From the researches of Mr. Nicolas, it appears that this eminent Baron was the eldest son of Nicholas Baron Segrave; and at his father's death, in the 23d Edward I., was thirty-nine years of age. In the 54th Henry III., he married Christian, daughter of Hugh de Plessets, knight, and at the same time, his sister Amabil became the wife of his brother-in-law, Sir John de Plessets. Soon after the accession of Edward I., he was engaged in the wars of Scotland, and in the 13th Edward I. he attended the King in his expedition into Wales. In the 19th Edward I. he was with his father in the Scottish wars; and in the 24th Edward I. executed the office of Constable of the English army.

Dugdale asserts, that in the 25th Edward I., John de Segrave was, by indenture, retained to serve Roger le Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, the Earl Marshal, with six knights, including himself, as well in peace as war, for the term of his whole life, in England, Wales, and Scotland, with the following retinue:—In time of peace, with six horses, so long as the Earl should think fit, taking *bouche of court* for himself and six knights; and for his esquires hay and oats, together with livery for six more horses, and wages for six grooms and their horses. He was also to receive two robes for himself, as for a banneret, yearly, as well in peace as in war, with the same robes for each of his five knights, and two robes annually for his other bachelors. In war, he was bound to bring with him his five knights and twenty horses, in consideration of which, he was to receive for himself and his company, with all the said horses, xl s. per diem; but if he should bring no more than six horses, then xxij s. per diem. It was further agreed, that the horses should be valued, in order that proper allowance might be made, in case any of them should happen to be lost in the service; and, for the performance of this agreement, he had a grant from the Earl of the manor of Lodene in Norfolk.

The preceding document has been cited nearly in Dugdale's own words, because at the same time that it affords much information with respect to the retinue by which Segrave was attended to the field, it proves that he was intimately connected with the Earl Marshal, which tends to explain his having in the same year, namely, on the 12th August, 25th Edward I. 1297, been appointed by the Earl to appear in his name before the King, in obedience to a precept directed to him and the Constable, commanding them to attend him on the subject of a body of armed men which had assembled in London. The record states, that on the appointed day, the Earl of Hereford as Constable, and "Mons' John de Segrave, qui excusa le Comte Mareschal par maladie," came accordingly*. In the 25th Edward I., this baron was also summoned to accompany the King beyond the sea, and afterwards at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with horse and arms; and, in the next year, was present when the English army gained the victory of Falkirk. In the 28th Edward I., he was again

summoned to serve in the wars of Scotland, in which year, when he must have been about forty-five years old, he was at the siege of Carlaverock. The account given of him by the poet, that he performed the Earl Marshal's duties upon that occasion, because that nobleman was prevented from attending, is not only strongly corroborated by the preceding statement of his having acted as deputy of the Earl Marshal in the year 1297, but also by the following extract from Peter de Langtoft's chronicle (p. 309), when speaking of the expedition into Scotland in 1300.

"After Midesomers tide thorgh comon ordinance,
No lenger suld thei bide, bot forth & stand to chance.
Norreis & Surreis, that seruice auht the kyng,
With hors & harnais at Carlele mad samnyng.
The erle Marschalle Rogere no hede that yme mot haue,
He went with his banere Sir Jon the Segraue,
To do alle the service that longed the office tillle,
& mayntend alle the prise, ther he sauh lawe & skille."

After Carlaverock castle surrendered, Segrave's banner, from his having acted as Marshal during the siege, was displayed on its battlements. In the 30th of Edward I., he was a party to the Letter from the Barons to the Pope, in which he is styled "John Lord of Segrave;" and about that time was appointed Governor of Berwick, and Warden of Scotland. In the same year, whilst riding out of Berwick with a small escort, he was surprised by an ambuscade of the Scots, wounded, and taken prisoner; which event is thus noticed by Langtoft (p. 319):—

"Our men in Scotland with sautes soodeynly,
The Segraue myght not stand, Sir Jon tok the gayn stie.
His sonne & his brother of bedde als thei woke,
& sextene knyghtes other, the Scottis alle them toke."

His captivity was however, it appears, of short duration; for, on Edward's return to England, Segrave was left as his Lieutenant of Scotland. At different periods during the reign of Edward I., he obtained grants of free warren and other privileges in several of his manors, and possessed that elevated place in his sovereign's confidence and esteem, which his long and zealous services so justly merited. Nor was he less distinguished by his successor, for soon after the accession of Edward II., he was constituted Governor of Nottingham Castle, which had belonged to Piers de Gaveston, and was likewise appointed to his situation of Justice of the Forests beyond the Trent, and Keeper of all the Rolls thereto belonging; but he resigned these offices in the following year, when they were conferred upon Henry de Percy. In the 2d Edward II., he was again appointed Warden of Scotland; in the 6th Edward II. he was taken prisoner at the battle of Bannockburn, and about twelve months afterwards Thomas de Moram and several other Scots, then prisoners in the Tower of London, were delivered to Stephen de Segrave, son and heir of the Baron, to be exchanged for him. In the 8th Edward II., commissioners were appointed to hear and determine all disputes relative to the taking up of carriages by him or his agent, in consequence of his offices of Keeper of the Forests beyond the Trent, and of the castles of Nottingham and Derby. He was summoned upon several occasions to serve in the Scottish wars during the early

* *Fœdera*, N. E. vol. i. 872.

part of the reign of Edward II., and to Parliament from the 26th August, 24th Edward I., 1296, to the 6th of May, 18th Edward II., 1325. In the 10th Edward II., in consequence of his great services, and of his imprisonment in Scotland, he received a grant of 1000*l.*; but what was then due to the crown for money received by him from the time of his appointment of Warden of the Forests beyond the Trent and Governor of Nottingham Castle, was to be deducted from that sum.

The tide of royal favour at last turned, and he accidentally fell a victim to the displeasure of his sovereign. Having, in 1325, excited Edward's anger by the escape of Roger Lord Mortimer from the Tower, he sent Segrave and the Earl of Kent into Gascony, under the pretence of defending that province, where he was attacked with a disease then prevalent there, of which he shortly afterwards died, aged about seventy years, leaving John de Segrave, his grandson, son of his eldest son Stephen, who died in his lifetime, his heir.

The preceding unadorned narrative of John de Segrave's services forms a splendid monument of his fame: for, whilst the impossibility of colouring the biography of his contemporaries with meretricious ornaments of language, is strongly felt when their actions are few or obscure, the absence of such assistance tends to the advantage of those who need no other eulogy than the simple record of the occasions upon which they were present in the field, or were selected to execute high and important duties.

John de Segrave, the next Baron, added to the honours of his ancestors in an unprecedented manner, by marrying Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Thomas de Brotherton, Marshal of England, younger son of King Edward I. Through the Marriage of Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress, with John Lord Mowbray, that family attained the Marshalship of England. The present representatives of John Baron Segrave, the subject of this article, are the Lords Stourton and Petre and the Earl of Berkley. The arms of John de Segrave were sable, a lion rampant, argent, crowned or.

T.

EXTRACTS FROM THE WARDROBE ACCOUNTS.

Page 78.

THIS, of course, is mere conjecture on the part of the author; but that he has, at least, probability on his side, may be inferred from the extraordinary outlay attending the Scottish expeditions as proved by the following extracts from the Wardrobe Accounts—exhibiting the Revenue and Expenditure of Edward for the year 1300, and including the disbursements occasioned by the invasion of Scotland during that year:—

Total amount of receipts, p. Exchequer, for this present 28. year of Edward I.	£49,048 19 10
Fines levied, and proceeds of stores, horses, &c., sold	9,106 16 2½
Per fo. 15.	£58,155 16 0½

Charges on Scottish War.

For royal garrisons and castles in Scotland, fo. 154	£18,638 1 8
— replacing horses killed or destroyed in King's service, belonging to knights, and officers, and gratification to messengers, servants, &c. fo. 187	4,386 4 5
— annual fees to knights of King's household, wages of bannerets and simple knights, &c. fo. 210	3,077 19 0
— wages of engineers, archers, sergeants-at-arms of King's household, esquires, &c. fo. ix. Observ. on W. A.	1,038 10 7
— wages of foot-soldiers, crossbow-men, archers, artificers, and workmen, fo. 270	4,446 9 11½
— wages of seamen belonging to the fleet of the Cinque Ports and other towns, employed in the King's service, fo. 279	1,233 9 8
Amount of charges for the year	£32,820 15 3½

Separate Disbursements.

Alms and charitable donations of the King and his family, fo. 47	£1,166 14 6
Necessaries for the King's household, travelling expenses, ambassadors, messengers to Court of Rome, wages of King's servants not on the Marshall's roll, &c. (Observ. on W. A. fo. viii.)	3,338 19 3
Expenses of messengers and others, despatched on King's business, fo. 303	87 11 1
Falconers, huntsmen, &c. fo. 309	77 6 11½
Allowance to bannerets, knights, clerks, and other servants of the King's household for their winter and summer robes, fo. 331	714 3 4
Expenses of sundry furnishings for the Royal household, including separate the Queen and her household, amounting to £3668. 2s. 9d., and Chancellor's fee, amounting to £581. 9s. 9d. fo. 360	15,575 18 5½
"The account then states the payments contained in this book to amount to	53,178 15 0
"To which are added the expenses of the household contained in a separate account, amounting to	£10,969 16 0½

And "the whole of the national expenditure, within this department, during one entire year," is stated at £64,105 0 5

It is added, "The account is corrected and approved by the comptroller in every page; but the balance is not struck. If we take, however, the sum told of the money received, which amounted to 58,155 16 2
And deduct it from the money paid, we shall find a balance due to the accountant, amounting to £5,949 4 3"

On data furnished by the ascertained difference in the value of silver in 1300, which is stated to be "thrice as much" as it was in 1700, and the comparative value of certain provisions, estimated, as being in 1300, "five times as cheap" as in 1700. Bishop Fleetwood "makes the difference of the value of a shilling between the two periods to be fifteen;" and it is added, "supposing this calculation to be well-founded, computations might be made, so as to form a judgment of the difference between the latter of those periods and the present time."—(Vide p. xii. *Observations on Wardrobe Account, 1787.*)

An estimate of the expense of the Scottish war, according to this mode of computation, would

therefore present the following result, for (1700) the period alluded to by Bishop Fleetwood :—

Charges on Scottish war for 1300	32,820	15	3½
For difference in the weight of silver	0	0	3
	98,462	5	10½
For the variation in the value of money			5
	£492,311	9	4½

being an increase of the sum of 32,820*l.* 15*s.* 3½*d.*, of the year 1300, to 492,311*l.* 9*s.* 4½*d.*, or nearly *one-eighth* of 3,895,205*l.*, the revenue of the kingdom in the reign of William III., according to Sir John Sinclair :—while, from a statement by the same respectable authority, the whole revenue of the kingdom under Edward I. is estimated at 150,000*l.*; the disbursements for the Scottish war will therefore be found to exceed, within one department of the national expenditure, *one-fifth* of the national income.

U.

TRIAL OF WALLACE.

Page 87.

“WILLIAM WALLACE, which had oft-times set Scotland in great trouble, was taken and brought to London, with great numbers of men and women wondering upon him. He was lodged in the house of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Fenchurch Street. On the morrow, being the eve of St. Bartholomew, he was brought on horseback to Westminster-hall; John Segrave and Geoffrey, knights, the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London, many, both on horseback and on foot, accompanying him; and in the great hall, at Westminster, he being placed on the south bench, crowned with laurel, for that he had said in times past that he ought to wear a crown in that hall, as it was commonly reported; and being appeached as a traitor by Sir Peter Malorie, the King’s Justice, he answered that he was no traitor to the King of England; but for other things whereof he was accused, he confessed them, and was, after, headed and quartered.”—*Stow. Chron.* p. 209.

X.

ON THE MARTYRDOM OF WALLACE.

Page 88.

THE following account is giving by Langtoft of the capture, sentence, and execution of Wallace :

“A! Jhesu, when thou wille how rightwis is thi mede?
That of the wrong has gilt, the endying may the drede.
William Wales is nomen, that maister was of theues,
Tething to the Kyng is comen, that roberie mischeus.
Sir Jon of Menetest sewed William so nehi,
He tok him whan he wend lest, on nyght his leman bi.
That was thorgh treson of Jak Schort his man,
He was the encheson, that Sir Jon so him nam,
Jak brother had he slayn, the Walesis that is said,
The more Jak was fayne, to do William that braid.
Secoutly he endis the man that is fals,
If he trest on his frendes, thei begile him als.

Begiled is William, taken is & bondon,
To Ingland with him thei cam, & led him vnto London,
The first dome he fanged, for treson was he drawn.
For robbie was he hanged, & for he had men slawen,
& for he had brent abbies, and men of religion,
Eft fro the galweis quik thei lete him doune,
& bowled him alle hote, & brent tham in the fire,
His hede than of smote, sulik was William hire;
& for he had mayntend the werre at his myght,
On lordschip lended thore he had no right,
& stroited those he knewe, in fele stede sers
His body thai hewe on foure quarters,
To hang in foure tounes, to mene of his maners
In stede of Gonfaynounes, & of his baners.
At London is his quaters ere leued, in Scotland
spred.
To wirship her iles, & lere of his wiles, how wele that he
sped.
It is not to drede, traytoure salle sped, als he is worthi,
His lif salle he tyne, & die thorgh pyne, withouten merci.
Thus may men here, a ladde for to lere, to biggen in pays;
It fallis in his iye, that hewe ouer hie, with the Walays.”
Vol. ii. p. 329, 330.

“The martyrdom of Wallace,” says the editor of Wyntoun’s Chronicle, “is thus described, in a ballad written about a year after, when the head of Sir Simon Frazer, one of the heroes of Roslin, was set up beside those of Wallace and Lewellyn, the last sovereign of Wales.

“To warny alle the gentilmen, that liueth in
Scotlande.
The Walesis wes to drawe seththe he wes } to abyde.
anhonge,
Al quic bibeuded, ys boweles ybrend,
The heued to Londone brugge wes send
* * * * *
Sire Edward oure Kyng, that ful ys of pietet,
The Walesis quarters sende to is oune contre, } Ant drede.”
On four half to honge, huere mynour to be,
Ther-apon to tenche, that manie myhten se,
MS. Harl. No. 2253, f. 59, b. *Trivet.* p. 340.

“Thus did Edward glut his vengeance on the dead body of this worthy man, whose living soul all his power never could subdue.

“Some of the English historians have stained their pages with low invectives against Wallace. Carte, in particular [*Hist.* v. ii. p. 290.], labours hard to prove him a traitor to King Edward, whose mercy he praises. That he was a traitor, he proves from his being a native of Galloway, or the Cambrian territories, which, he says, the kings of Scotland held in vassalage of the crown of England, and because the subvassals were, in cases of rebellion, subject by the feudal law to the same forfeitures and penalties as the immediate vassal.

“A man must feel himself very much pinched for arguments, when he has recourse to such as are confessedly not founded on reason, and to quibbles and perversion of facts. Clydesdale, the ancient kingdom of Strathclyud, one of the first independent kingdoms established in Britain by the expulsion of the Romans, which for many centuries withstood the attacks of the Angles, Pichts, Scots, and Norwegians, and had the honour to produce STEWART, DOUGLAS, and WALAYS, was never pretended to be any part of the territories of which the kings of England claimed the superiority. So the pretence that Walays was a traitor, in consequence of the place of his birth, falls to the ground; and the pretence of rebellion is equally unfounded, unless the noble exertions of a free people against

the unjustifiable attempts of a neighbouring prince to subject them to his dominion, are to be branded with the name of rebellion. Well may the spirit of the noble Walays forgive those writers for accusing him of inhumanity and rebellion, who have extolled the clemency of Edward I."—*Notes to Wyntown's Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 503.

The inclination to detract from the merits of Wallace, does not appear to have become entirely extinct among the historians of England. Dr. Lingard thus expresses himself respecting our hero: "It may perhaps offend the national partiality of some among my readers, but I greatly suspect that Wallace owes his celebrity as much to his execution as to his exploits. Of all the Scottish chieftains who deserved and experienced the enmity of Edward, he alone perished on the gallows; and on this account his fate called forth and monopolized the sympathy of his countrymen."—Vol. iii. p. 227.

On this Mr. Tytler remarks, "It is not true, that of all the Scottish chieftains who deserved Edward's enmity, Wallace was the only one who perished on the gallows. Sir Nigel Bruce, Sir Christopher Seton, John Seton, the Earl of Athol, Sir Simon Fraser, Sir Herbert de Morham, Thomas Boys, Sir David Inchmartin, Sir John de Somerville, Sir Thomas and Sir Alexander Bruce, both brothers of the king, and Sir Reginald Crawford, were all hanged by Edward's orders in the course of the year 1306, within a year of the execution of Wallace. So much for the accuracy of the ground on which Lingard has founded his conjecture, that Wallace owes his celebrity 'to his execution.'"

Respecting the inaccuracies of Dr. Lingard on this subject, we shall give another extract from the same authority. "He," Dr. Lingard, "observes, that after the surprise of Ormesby the Justiciary, by Wallace and Douglas, other independent chieftains arose in different counties who massacred the English, and compelled their own countrymen to fight under their standards. These other independent chieftains are brought in 'for the nonce' by Dr. Lingard. They are utterly unknown to the contemporary historians, English and Scottish. But they do not appear upon the stage without a use. On the contrary, they first multiply like Falstaff's men in buckram, 'into numerous parties,' and then act a principal part in the next sentence; for the historian goes on to observe, 'that the origin and progress of these numerous parties had been viewed with secret satisfaction by the Steward of Scotland, and Wishart the Bishop of Glasgow, who determined to collect them into one body, and to give their efforts one common direction. Declaring themselves the assertors of Scottish independence, they invited the different leaders to rally around them; and the summons was obeyed by Wallace and Douglas, by Sir Alexander Lindsay, Sir Andrew Moray, and Sir Richard Lundy,' vol. iii. p. 305. This last sentence is one of pure and gratuitous invention, without a shadow of historical authority to support it. The numerous and independent parties and chieftains who rose in different counties—the silent satisfaction with which they were contemplated by the Bishop of Glasgow and the High Steward—their determination to collect them into one body, and to give them one common direction—their declaring themselves the assertors of Scottish independence—

their summons to the different leaders to rally round them, and the prompt obedience of this summons by Wallace, Douglas, and the rest—are facts created by the ingenuity of the historian. They seem to be introduced for the purpose of diminishing the reputation of Wallace; and the impression they leave on the mind of the reader, appears to me to be one totally different from the truth. The Steward and the Bishop of Glasgow are the Patriot chiefs under whom Douglas and Wallace, and many other independent chieftains consent to act for the recovery of Scottish freedom; and Wallace sinks down into the humble partisan, whose talents are directed by their superior authority and wisdom. Now, the fact is exactly the reverse of this. The Steward and Wishart, encouraged by the successes of Wallace and Douglas, joined their party, and acted along with them in their attempt to free Scotland; but neither Fordun, nor Wynton, nor Bower gives us the slightest ground to think that they acted a principal part, or any thing like a principal part, in organizing the first rising against Edward. On the contrary, these historians, along with Trivet and Walsingham, Tyrrel and Carte, ascribe the rising to Wallace alone, whose early success first caused him to be joined by Douglas, and afterwards by the Bishop and the Steward, along with Lindsay, Moray, and Lundy. Indeed, instead of playing the part ascribed to him by Lingard, the patriotism of the Steward and the Bishop, was of that lukewarm and short-lived kind which little deserves the name. It did not outlive eight weeks; and they seized the first opportunity to desert Wallace and the cause of freedom. The attack upon Ormesby the Justiciary took place some time in May, 1297; and on the 9th of July of the same year, did Bishop Wishart, this patriot assertor of Scottish independence, negotiate the treaty of Irvine, by which he and the other Scottish barons, with the single exception of Wallace and Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, submitted to Edward. Lingard's other hero, the High Steward, who is brought in to divide the glory with Wallace, was actually in the English service at the battle of Stirling; and although he secretly favoured the Scottish cause, he did not openly join his countrymen till he saw the entire destruction of Surrey's army. I may remark, in concluding this note, that the idea of an attack upon Wallace, and an eulogy on the clemency of Edward, has probably not even the merit of originality. It appears to be borrowed from Carte, vol. ii. p. 290; but it is only the idea which is taken. The clumsy and absurd argument of Carte is discarded, and a far more ingenious hypothesis, with a new set of facts, is substituted in its place. On reading over Hemingford again, I find one expression which may perhaps have suggested this theory of Lingard. Hemingford says, speaking of Bruce, p. 120, that he joined the Bishop of Glasgow and the Steward, 'qui tocius mali fabricatores exstiterant.' Yet this is inconsistent with his own account in p. 118, and is not corroborated, so far as I know, by any other historian."

Among other singular passages in the work of the learned Doctor, we cannot omit taking notice of the following: "The only great battles in which Wallace is known to have fought, are those of Stirling and Falkirk. In the first he was vic-

torious ; but he must share the glory of the action with Sir Andrew Murray, who was certainly his equal in command, perhaps his superior. In the second he was defeated, and the defeat was the most disastrous that Scotland ever experienced. In the history of the next five years, his name is scarcely ever mentioned." Scottish historians never pretended that there was any battle of equal importance to those of Stirling and Falkirk, in which Wallace was engaged. But where Dr. Lingard could get his information, that Sir Andrew Murray held a superior, or even an *equal command* with him, it is not easy to conjecture. In Scottish authors, evidences to the contrary are innumerable ; and if Dr. Lingard had not preferred substituting his own "perhaps," in place of historical record, he might have proofs in direct opposition to the statement he has made, and that even from English authors, with whom he appears to be familiar.

At the treaty of Irvine, for the submission of the Scottish barons, when all deserted Wallace but Sir Andrew Murray, it is mentioned in the instrument as having been notified to Wallace "Eserit à Sire Willaume," and the name of Sir Andrew is not even alluded to. This would certainly not have been the case, had he held even an equal command, much less a superior.—*Fœdera*, t. ii. p. 774.

In the Chronicle of Langtoft, page 297, we have an account of the battle of Stirling, which is thus introduced :—

"The rascail of ther route bigan to werre alle newe,
Now Edward is oute, the barons be not treue.
The suffred, as it sais, the Scottis eft to rise,
& William the Waleis ther *hed* & ther *justise*.
Thorgh fals concelement William did his wille,
Our castels has he brent, our men slayn fullle ille."

The chronicler, after telling us that Wallace was the *head and justice of the Scots*—expressions which embrace a pretty extensive prerogative—proceeds to narrate the operations of the day, in which he speaks of Wallace as the only commander opposed to Warren : nor does he even hint of any individual who had a right to "divide the glory" of the victory with him : on the contrary he says,

"The Ingils were alle slayn, the Scottis bare them wele,
The Waleis had the wayn, als maistere of that eschele."

Sir Andrew Murray is not even mentioned by Langtoft. That he fought bravely, and died nobly in defence of his country, is what no one will attempt to deny, and the same might be said of many more who were present on that occasion ; but being the only man amongst a timid and backsliding aristocracy, who acted with patriotism and spirit in so trying a time, his name has been handed down to the grateful remembrance of posterity.

"In the next five years," adds Dr. Lingard, the "name" of Wallace "is scarcely ever mentioned." When Scottish affairs are concerned, and more particularly when the character of her deliverer is the subject adverted to, a reference to authorities appears to be extremely irksome, or attended with too much trouble to our learned author. In the present instance, however, we shall not ask him to go farther than the pages of his own work, where he will find matter that might

lead him to suspect the truth of the above assertion, as well as the correctness of the view he has taken of the grounds on which our patriot's popularity is founded. We are informed (vol. iii. p. 227), "The only man whose enmity could give him" (Edward) a "moment's uneasiness, was Wallace, and in few months he was brought captive to London." And again, vol. iii. p. 329, "If the fate of Wallace was different from all others, it proves that there was something peculiar in his case which rendered him less deserving of mercy." If we are to credit our author's statements, Edward must have been a more nervous character than he has ever been supposed to be, if he could feel "uneasiness" at "the enmity" of a man who had been thus buried in obscurity, and whose "name had scarcely been heard of for five years,"—one who, in the only great battle in which he was successful, held but a subordinate command, and acted during the insurrection in the humble character of a mere partisan, under the direction of others. Surely there was nothing peculiarly aggravating in the case of such a man, to have "rendered him less deserving of mercy" than his more guilty superiors, particularly from *one* whom our author informs us "was *not* a blood-thirsty tyrant." It is strange that it did not appear to Dr. Lingard, as a very high degree of praise, that after Wallace had been deprived, by the severe and sanguinary policy of Edward, of all resources save what arose from his own dauntless heart and irresistible arm, that he should still continue to be the only man whose "enmity" could give the oppressor of his country "a moment's uneasiness." From this circumstance, and from this alone, arose that "something peculiar" in his case which rendered him obnoxious to the tender mercies of Edward. In conclusion, we cannot help remarking, that the Doctor's method of substituting, where his prejudices happen to be interested, his own theoretical conjectures, in opposition to the authentic records of the country, is rather an indirect way to the confidence of his reader.

Y.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF WALLACE.

Page 88.

FROM the following passage in the Minstrel it would seem, that a portrait of Wallace had been taken during his short stay in France, and forwarded to his friends in Scotland. What afterwards became of this precious relic, cannot now be discovered. Though there are many likenesses of him to be met with in the country, yet the pretensions to originality of all those we have yet seen, are extremely questionable. It would be difficult for a blind man to give his ideas of a picture in more appropriate language than the following.

"The wyt off Frans thoct Wallace to commend ;
In to Scotland, with this harrold, thai send
Part off his deid, and als the discretioune
Off him tane thar, be men off discretioune,
Clerkis, knychts, and harroldis, that him saw ;
Bot I hereoff can nocht reherss thaim aw."

The description of Wallace, in the following

lines, places the genius of Henry in a very favourable light. It is evidently the effort of a master, and might be studied to advantage by the artist who intended to commit his ideas of the hero of Scotland to canvas:—

“Wallace statur, off gretness, and off hycht,
Was jugyt thus, be discretioun off rycht,
That saw him bath dissebill and in weid;
Nyne quartaris large he was in lenth indeid;
Thryd part lenth in schuldrys braid was he,
Rycht sembly, strang, and lusty for to se;
Hys lymmys gret, with stalwart paiss and sound,
Hys browys hard, hys armes gret and round;
His handis maid rycht lik till a pawmer,
Off manlik mak, with naless gret and cler;
Proportionyt lang and fayr was his wesage;
Rycht sad off spech, and abill in curage;
Braid breyst and heych, with sturdy crag and gret,
His lypys round, his noysys was squar and tret;
Bowand bron haryt, on browis and breis lycht,
Cler aspre eyn, lik dyamondis brycht.
Wndir the chyn, on the left syd, was seyn,
Be hurt, a wain; his colour was sangweyn.
Woundis he had in mony diuerss place,
Bot fayr and weil kept was his face.
Off ryches he kept no propryt thing;
Gaiff as he wan, lik Alexander the King.
In tym off pes, mek as a maid was he;
Quhar wer approchyt the rycht Ector was he.
To Scottis men a gret credens he gaiff;
Bot knawin enemys that couth him nocht disayff.
Thir properteyys was knawin in to Frans,
Off him to be in gud remembrans.”

Book ix. 1909—1942,

The subjoined extract, from Fordun, fully corroborates the statements from the Minstrel:—

“Erat staturū procerus, corpore giganteus, facie serenus, vultu jocundus, humeris latus, ossibus grossus, ventre congruus, lateribus protelus, aspectu gratus, sed visu ferus; renibus amplus, brachiis et cruribus vigorosus; pugil acerrimus, et omnibus artubus fortissimus et compactus. Insuper sic eum Altissimus et ipsis vultum varium quādam hilaritate favorabili insigniverat, ita dicta et facta illius quodam celestis dono gratificaverat ut omnia fidorum corda Scotorum solo aspectu sibi conciliaret in gratiam et favorem. Et nec mirum: erat enim in donis liberalissimus, in judiciis æquissimus, in consolatione tristium compatientissimus, in consilio peritissimus, sufferentia patientissimus, in locutione luculentissimus,—super omnia falsitatem et mendacia prosequens, ac positionem detestans; propter quod fuit Dominus cum eo, per quem erat vir in cunctis prosperè agens; ecclesiam venerans, ecclesiasticos reverens, pauperes et viduas sustentans, pupillos et orphanos refovens, oppressos relevans, furibus et raptoribus insidians, et sine pretio super eos, justitiam exercens et rigorem. Cujusemodi justis operibus, quia quam maximè Deum gratificabat, ipse propterea omnia ejus opera dirigebat.”—Lib. x. cap. 28.

Z.

REMINISCENCE OF WALLACE.

Page 88.

AMONG the few speeches of Wallace which we have on record, the following is mentioned by

English writers, as having been addressed by him to the Scottish schiltrons, on the eve of the battle of Falkirk:—“I haif brocht you to the ring, hap gif you cun.” Respecting the meaning of these words, however, there is no agreement between Scottish or English writers. Walsingham has it, “I haif brocht you to the King, hop gif you cun;”—on which Lord Hailes very properly remarks:—

“This speech of Wallace has generally been related and explained in a sense very different. I must therefore give my reasons for having departed so widely from the common opinion. *Walsingham*, p. 75, says, ‘*Dicens eis patriā linguā,—I haif brocht you to the King, hop gif you cun.*’ This short speech has always appeared to me as utterly inconsistent with the character of Wallace. It is commonly understood to mean, ‘I have brought you to the King, hope if you can hope.’ To say nothing of the impropriety of the appellation of *King*, bestowed by Wallace on Edward, the sentiment, ‘hope, if you can hope,’ seems only fit for the mouth of a coward or a traitor. Abercrombie, perceiving this, has given a more plausible interpretation of the word *hop*. He renders the phrase thus, ‘*Fly if you can*,’ as if Wallace had meant to say, ‘*Fight, for you cannot fly.*’ There is nothing incongruous in this sentiment; but surely it did not merit to be recorded: Neither was it strictly true; for the Scottish army might have retired with unbroken forces into the forest which lay in the rear. The only satisfactory interpretation of Wallace’s address to his troops, is to be found in *W. Westm.* p. 451, ‘*Ecce adduxi vos ad annulum charolate (chorolate) sive tripudiate vos, sicut melius scitis.*’ *King*, in Walsingham, ought to be *ring*. The words of Wallace were, ‘I haif brocht you to the ring, hap gif you cun.’ *The ring* means the dance *à la ronde*. *Douglas* translates ‘*Exercent Diana choros,*’ *Æneid* ii., thus, ‘*Ledand ring-dances,*’ p. 28. l. 42. ‘*Te lustrare choros,*’ *Æneid* vii., thus: ‘*To the scho led ring-sangis in karoling,*’ p. 220, l. 31. Elsewhere, in his own person, he says, ‘*Sum sang ring-sangis,*’ *Prologue*, xii. B. p. 402, l. 33. That *hop* or *hop* is understood of dancing, is also plain from *Douglas*. He thus paraphrases ‘*Hic exultantes Salios,*’ *Æneid* viii.

‘The dandsand Preistis, clepit *Salii*,
Happand and singand.’ P. 267, l. 21.

“I need not prove, that ‘gif you cun’ implies ‘if you have skill,’ or, ‘according to your skill.’ The verb is obsolete; but the noun and the adjective are still remembered. ‘Let my right hand forget its *cunning*,’ ‘a *cunning* artificer,’ ‘a *cunning* man.’ *Langtoft*, vol. ii. p. 305, as translated by Brunne, reports the words thus: ‘To the rengerere ye brouht, hop now if ye wille.’ But he does not seem to have understood the import of the words.”

The above is all learned enough; but his lordship has stopped short in his explanation, and left his readers as much in the dark, as any of his predecessors, respecting the meaning or propriety of such a phrase in the mouth of a general, on the commencement of a great battle. Some of our readers perhaps require to be told that *schiltron* means a body of men drawn up in a circle*. The

* In this explanation of the term, the writer finds himself at variance with the opinion of Mr. Tytler, who says, “*schiltron*” seems to denote nothing more than a compact

war-dance of the Scots and other northern nations, as is well known, was performed round a large fire. Each warrior's hand was firmly clasped in that of his neighbour. Their motion was at first slow, and gradually increased, till their rapidity almost rivalled the velocity of the whirlwind. When arrived at this state of fury, if any luckless wight slipped his hold, or otherwise became unsteady, the impetus which he and his fellows had acquired, pitched him headlong amid the flames, when his endeavours to extricate himself from the blaze, and regain his place, formed the chief sport of his companions. To render the schiltron the most formidable figure for defensive operations, steadiness was all that was requisite. When Wallace, therefore, on the rapid advance of the English, addressed his soldiers in the manner alluded to, he gave utterance to the happiest thought, in the fewest words, that perhaps ever presented itself to the mind of genius in a case of emergency. The striking similarity between their form of battle and their favourite dance, was apparent to all; and the impending conflict became instantly stripped of its terrors, by a playful allusion to an amusement with which they were familiar, while it flashed upon their minds with all the conviction of experience, that on the preservation of their ranks their safety depended. The behaviour of the schiltrons on that fatal day showed that they understood the address of their leader better than any of its subsequent commentators.

body of men. As this restricted meaning of the expression appears to have been adopted on the authority of Hemingford, who says, "qui quidem circuli Schiltronis vocabantur," it is to be inferred that he has not examined the term with his accustomed accuracy. *Schiltron* is, without doubt, compounded of the two Saxon words "scheld" and "roun." When a general, in giving the word of command, called out "Scheltron" to any portion of his army, they would have as little difficulty in understanding him, as a modern battalion would if ordered to "form square." It may also be observed, that by placing their shields together, they derived considerable advantage, being thereby enabled to form with greater celerity; and when once in order, a more impenetrable figure could not be presented to the attack of an enemy. That this is the ancient meaning of the word, is evident from the manner in which it is used by old chroniclers. Hearne, in his Glossary to Peter Langtoft, thus explains "Schelde," *shield, target, buckler, protection, government.* "Sheltron," *shelter, covering, or rather schiltrons, or round battailes.* The expression, therefore, in Hemingford, of "*circuli schiltronis*," only shows that a man, even in a learned language, may utter an absurdity.

In order to render the schiltron formidable in offensive warfare, it was necessary to have the centre occupied with archers, who, enclosed within the barrier of the spearmen, could ply their deadly shafts in comparative security. That this was part of the plan of Wallace to supply his deficiency in cavalry at the battle of Falkirk, is highly probable. By this measure, neither the superiority of the enemy in this formidable description of force, nor the desertion of the Scottish cavalry, would have been so severely felt. That this arrangement did not take place, was very likely owing to the pertinacity of Steward, who commanded the archers, and rashly exposed himself and those under him to the overwhelming charges of the heavy armed squadrons of the English. This obstinacy on the part of the knight of Bonkill, affords a very natural solution of the feud between him and Wallace. Had the archers been in the centre of the schiltrons, they could have returned the murderous discharge of their enemies' missiles with corresponding effect, and have eventually produced a more favourable termination to the operations of the day.

AA.

WALLACE'S DESCENDANTS.

Page 90.

WALLACE appears to have left a daughter, whose legitimacy has been called in question, but on very slender grounds. In Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 579, we find the following passage:—"It has been said that Wallace left no legitimate issue; but he had a natural daughter, who married Sir William Baillie of Hoprig, the progenitor of the Baillies of Lamington." It has never been disputed, that the lady by whom Wallace had this daughter was the heiress of Lamington, in right of her father, Sir Hew de Bradfute; it would therefore have been satisfactory, if the learned author above mentioned had explained how the Baillies of Hoprig came to the possession of Lamington. If the daughter of Wallace was legitimate, their succession appears the natural consequence of the marriage of Sir William Baillie; if not, the manner in which they became possessed of that property requires elucidation. That Wallace and the heiress of Lamington were lawfully married, is asserted by Henry, who draws the following picture of their connubial happiness:—

"Quhat suld I say, Wallace was playnly set
To luff hyr best in all this world so wid;
Thinkand he suld off his desyr to get;
And so befell be concord in a tid,
That sho [was] maid at his commaund to bid;
And thus began the stytyn aff this stryf:
Begynnynng band, with graith witness besyd,
Myn auctor sais, sho was his rychtwys wyff.
Now leiff in pees, now leiff in gud concord!
Now leiff in blyss, now leiff in hail plesance!
For scho be choss has bath hyr luff and lord,
He thinkis als, luff did him hye awance,
So ewynly held be favour the ballance,
Sen he at will may lap hyr in his armys.
Scho thankit God off hir fre happy chance,
For in his tyme he was the flour off armys.
Fortoune him schawit hyr fygowrt doubill face,
Feyll syss or than he had beyne set abuff:
In presoune now, delyuerit now throw grace,
Now at vnes, now in to rest and ruff;
Now weyll at wyll, weyldand his plesand luff,
As thoct him self out off aduersité;
Desyryng ay his manheid for to pruff,
In cairage set apou the stagis hye.
The werray treuth I can nocht graithly tell,
In to this lyff how lang at thai had beyne:
Throuch natural course of generacounne befell,
A child was chewyt hir twa luffaris betuene,
Quhilk gudly was, a maydyn brycht and schene."

Buke Sect, 41—69.

According to the above authority, the offspring of this marriage was first united in the bands of wedlock to an Esquire of the name of Shaw. Whether this was any connection of William de Shaw, mentioned at page 18 of this work, as witnessing the charter of James, Lord High Steward of Scotland, along with some other friends of Wallace, we have no means of ascertaining. We are told, however, that

"Ryecht gudly men come off this lady ying."

Whether these were the issue of the marriage with Shaw, or of that afterwards contracted with

Baillie of Hoprig, or of both, it is difficult to determine. It is probable, as Sir William Baillie is designated, of Hoprig, and his descendants as proprietors of Lamington, that they may have succeeded to the inheritance, after the offspring of the first marriage had become extinct. It has also been advanced, as an argument against the legitimacy of the daughter of Wallace, that she inherited none of the property of her father. Those, however, who started this objection, would have done well to have shown, that Wallace possessed property to which she could have succeeded. It does not appear that he was ever personally invested in any of the lands belonging to the family. And mention is made of his brother Malcolm having left a son of the name of John, in whom the succession was prolonged, till it merged in the family of Craigie. In Langtoft's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 333, we have an account of the capture and execution of a Sir John de Wallace, who is there called a brother of Sir William. This is evidently a mistake, and might very easily arise from the closeness of the connection between the two parties. Another "John Walays of Elryslà" (Elderslie) is taken notice of as among the witnesses to the charter of Robert, Duke of Albany; and, from the family title being preserved, it is highly probable that the stock of Sir Malcolm Wallace had not then become extinct.

B B.

ON THE TREACHERY OF MENTETH.

Page 90.

IN the account of the capture of Wallace, we have thought it advisable to follow, in a great measure, the statement given by the Minstrel. It is, we conceive, the only rational one we are possessed of; and as the authority of the author has been supported by the Tower records, and other incontrovertible muniments, in matters of comparatively trifling importance, it would be unfair to doubt his veracity on so important a part of the history of his hero, particularly when all the notices we have in other writers, tend more or less to confirm the truth of what he asserts. Lord Hailes, however, has attempted to remove the odium which has for these 500 years been attached to the memory of Menteth; but his efforts to exculpate the Judas of Scotland, have been viewed by the generality of his countrymen in rather an unfavourable light. In the remarks his Lordship has made on the subject, we cannot discover that acuteness which frequently appears in his other writings. Dr. Jamieson has thus replied to him:—

"The account given of the treachery of Menteth, is one of those points on which Sir D. Dalrymple shows his historical scepticism. He introduces it in language calculated to inspire doubt into the mind of the reader; and observing, that 'the popular tradition is, that his friend, Sir John Menteth, betrayed him to the English.'—*Annals*, i. 281. It is rather strange that he should express himself in this manner, at the very moment that he quotes the Scotch chronicon on the margin; as if this venerable record, when a modern should be disposed to adopt a theory irreconcilable with its testimony,

were entitled to no higher regard than is due to 'popular tradition.'

He adds, 'Sir John Menteth was of high birth, a son of Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteth.' I can perceive no force in this remark, unless it be meant to imply that there never has been an instance of a man of noble blood acting the part of a traitor. On the same ground, we might quarrel with all the evidence given of the conspiracies formed against Robert Bruce; and even call in question the murder of that amiable and accomplished prince, James I.

"But 'at this time,' we are told, 'the important fortress of Dumbarton was committed to his (Menteth's) charge by Edward.' Here, it would seem, the learned writer fights the poor Minstrel with his own weapons. For I find no evidence of this fact in the *Fœdera*, Hemingford, or the *Decem Scriptores*; and Lord Hailes has referred to no authority; so that there is reason to suspect, to use his own language, that he here 'copies' what 'is said by *Blind Harry*, whom no historian but Sir Robert Sibbald will venture to quote.' If Harry's narrative be received as authority, it is but justice to receive his testimony as he gives it. Now, in the preceding part of his work, he represents Menteth as holding the castle of Dumbarton at least with the consent of Wallace, while acknowledged as governor of Scotland. It would appear, indeed, that the whole district of the Lennox had been intrusted to him.

'In the Leynhooss a quhill he maid repayr;
Schyrr Jhon Menteth that tym was captane thar.'

B. viii. 1595.

"But even at this time there was something dubious in the conduct of Menteth. While he retained the castle, the English held the town under Edward.

'In peess thair duelt, in trubyll that had beyn,
And trewbut payit till Ingliss capdanis keyn.
Schyrr Jhon Menteth the castell had in hand:
Bot sum men said, thar was a prewa band
Till Sotheroun maid, be menyis off that knycht,
In thar supplé to be in all his mycht.'

B. ix. 1393.

"It is perfectly conceivable, that, although it was known to Wallace that Menteth had some secret understanding with the English, this artful man might persuade him that he only wished an opportunity of wreaking the national vengeance on them, or at least of more effectually serving the interest of Wallace when he saw the proper time. Although Wallace had been assured that Menteth had taken an oath of fealty to Edward, he would have had no more reason for distrusting him than for distrusting by far the greatest part of the nobility and landholders of Scotland, who, as they believed, from the necessity of despair had submitted to the usurper.

"John de Menteth is designated by Arnold Blair, *immanis proditor*; and the writer proceeds to curse him as if with bell, book, and candle.—*Relationes*, p. 8.

"Sir David aims another blow at this account, in the following words:—'That he had ever any intercourse of friendship or familiarity with Wallace, I have yet to learn.' But the truth is, the worthy Judge does not seem disposed to learn this

It is difficult to say what evidence will satisfy him. The incidental hints, in the preceding part of the poem, in regard to Wallace's connection with Menteth, all perfectly agree with the mournful termination. Such confidence had he in him, according to the Minstrel, that he not only resided in Dumbarton Castle for two months, while Menteth had the charge of it, but gave orders for building 'a house of stone' there, apparently that he might enjoy his society.

'Twa moneths still he duelt in Dumbertane;
A hous he foundyt apone the roch off thayne;
Men left he thar till bygg it to the hycht.'

B. viii. 1599.

"But, independently of the testimony of Blind Harry, Bower expressly asserts the co-operation of Menteth with Wallace, Graham, and Scrymgeour, in the suppression of the rebellious men of Galloway. 'In hoc ipso anno (1298), viz. xxviii. die mensis Augusti, dominus Wallas Scotiæ custos, cum Johanne Grhame et Johanne de Menteth, militibus, necnon Alexandro Scrimzeour constabulario villæ de Dundee, et vexillario Scotiæ, cum quinquagētis militibus armatis, rebelles Galloviēsiens punierunt, qui regis Angliæ et Cuminorum partibus sine aliquo jure steterunt.'

"These words, which seem to be a quotation, in the Relations of Blair, from the Scotchchronicon, are not found in the MSS. from which Goodall gave his edition. They appear to have formed the commencement of the xxxii. chapter of the eleventh book, one of the two chapters here said to be wanting. Now this, whether it be the language of Bower, or of Blair, could not have been borrowed from the Minstrel, for the circumstance is overlooked by him. It seems to refer to that period of the history of Wallace, in which he is said to have made a circuit through Galloway and Carrick.

'Fra Gamlis peth the land obeyt him hall,
Till Ur wattir, baith strenth, forest, and dail.
Agaynis him in Galloway hous was nayne.'

B. vi. 793-5.

"It is to be observed, that John Major expressly affirms the treachery of Menteth, as acting in concert with Aymer de Valloins, Earl of Pembroke. He says, that Menteth was considered as his most intimate friend; 'ipsi Vallacco putatus amicissimus.' Hist. Fol. lxxxiii. Now, although he rejects many of the transactions recited by Blind Harry, 'as false,' so far is he from insinuating the slightest hesitation as to this business, that he formally starts an objection as to the imprudence of Wallace in not being more careful of his person, and answers it by remarking, that 'no enemy is more dangerous than a domestic one.' He differs from the Minstrel in saying that Wallace was 'captured in the city of Glasgow.'

"It may be added, that Bower expressly asserts that Wallace, 'suspecting no evil, was fraudulently and treacherously seized at Glasgow by Lord John de Menteth.'—*Scotchchron.* xii. 8. Bower again refers to the treacherous conduct of Menteth towards Wallace when afterwards relating a similar plan which he had laid for taking King Robert Bruce prisoner, under pretence of delivering up to him the Castle of Dumbarton, on condition of his receiving a hereditary right to the lieutenancy of the

Lennox; v. Lib. xii. c. 16, 17, Vol. ii. 243. These two chapters are not in all the MSS., but are found in those of Cupar, Perth, and Dunblane. Now, Bower was born anno 1385; *Ibid.* ii. 401. The date assigned to the Scotchchronicon, as published with his Continuation, is 1447, and that to the Minstrel's Poem, 1470; v. Pinkerton's Maitland Poems, Intr. lxxxvi—lxxxix. It is therefore impossible that Bower could have borrowed the account given of Menteth from Blind Harry. Bower was born, indeed, only eighty or eighty-one years after the fact referred to; and, considering the elevation of the character of Wallace, and the great attachment of his countrymen even to this day, as well as the multitude of his enemies, it is totally inconceivable that a whole nation, learned and unlearned, should concur in imputing this crime to one man, *without* the most valid reasons.

"Wyntown finished his '*Cronykil*,' anno 1418. He, it is generally believed, was born little more than fifty years after the butchery of our magnanimous patriot. Sir David Dalrymple could not, one would suppose, reasonably object to his testimony. Let us hear it.

'A thousand thre hundyr and the fyft yere
Eftyr the byrth of oure Lord dere,
Schyre John of Menteth in the days
Tuk in Glasgw Willame Walays,
And send hym in-till Ingland ewne.
Thare wes he quartaryd and wndwne
Be dyspyte and hat Inwy:
Thare he tholdy this Martyry.'

Cron. viii. c. 20.

"I shall only add an important proof from the Lanercost MS., referred to in the *Preliminary Remarks**. 'Captus fuit Willelmus Waleis per unum Scottum, scilicet per dominum Johannem de Mentiphe, et usque London ad Regem adductus, et adjudicatum fuit quod traheretur, et suspendoretur, et decollaretur, et membratim divideretur, et quod viscera ejus comburentur, quod factum est; et suspensus est caput ejus super pontem London, armus autem dexter super pontem Novi Castri super Tynam, et armus sinister apud Berwicium, pes autem dexter apud villam Sancti Johannis, et pes sinister apud Aberdeen.' Fol. 211. *Mentiphe* is obviously an *erratum* for *Menteth*."

Mr. Tytler, in the "Notes and Illustrations" to the first volume of his History of Scotland, has also handled this subject with considerable ability. We shall select the following, as affording additional arguments to those already advanced by Dr. Jamieson. In alluding to the evidence afforded by the Lanercost MS., that intelligent writer observes, "We cannot be surprised that Lord Hailes should have been ignorant of this passage, as he tells us, *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 316, he had not been able to discover where the MS. of Lanercost was preserved.

"The same excuse, however, will not avail him as to the next piece of evidence, of Menteth's having seized Wallace. It is contained in Leland's extract from an ancient MS. Chronicle, which Hailes has elsewhere quoted; I mean the *Scala Chronicle*, preserved in Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge. In Leland's *Collect.*, vol. i. p. 641, we have this passage from the Chronicle. 'Wyl-

* To *The Bruce* and *The Wallace*, vol. ii. Edin. 1820, 4to.

William Waleys was taken of the Counte of Menteth about Glaskow, and sent to King Edward, and after was hangid, drawn, and quarterid at London. This is only Leland's abridgment of the passage, which in all probability is much more full and satisfactory in the original. Yet it is quite satisfactory as to Menteth's guilt.

"The next English authority is Langtoft's Chronicle, which Hailes has himself quoted in his Notes and Corrections, vol. ii. p. 346. It is curious, and as to Menteth's guilt perfectly conclusive.

'Sir Jon of Menetest serwed William so neh,
He tok him whan he wend lest, on nyght his leman bi.
That was thourht treson of Jak Schort his man,
He was the encheson, that Sir Jon so him nam.' P. 3 29.

"We learn from this, that Sir John Menteth prevailed upon Wallace's servant, Jack Short, to betray his master, and came under cover of night, and seized him in bed, 'his leman bi,' and when he had no suspicion of what was to happen. How Hailes, after quoting this passage, which was written more than two centuries before Blind Harry, should have represented this poor minstrel as the only original authority for the guilt of Menteth, is indeed difficult to determine."

Having given these authorities, all of them prior to Blind Harry, it is unnecessary to give the testimony of the more modern writers. The ancient writers prove incontestably, that Sir John de Menteth, a Scottish baron, who had served along with and under Wallace against the English, deserted his country, swore homage to Edward, and employed a servant of Wallace to betray his master into his hands; that he seized him in bed, and delivered him to Edward, by whom he was instantly tried, condemned, and hanged. It was natural that the voice of popular tradition should continue from century to century, to execrate the memory of such a man. Whether Menteth was the intimate friend of Wallace, or what precise degree of familiarity existed between them, it is now not easy to determine, nor is it of any consequence as to his guilt. Indeed it is impossible to regard, without a smile, the weak and inconclusive evidence, if it deserves so grave a name, on which Hailes has founded what he calls his Apology for Menteth, which, after all, seems to be borrowed from *Carte*, vol. ii. p. 269. Lord Hailes also remarks, "It is most improbable, that Wallace should have put himself in the power of a man whom — new to be in an office of distinguished trust under Edward;" and almost in the same breath paraphrases the lines of Langtoft, in which it is stated that his capture was effected through the treason of Jack Short, whose brother Wallace is said to have slain. Surely the confidence was as imprudent in the one case as it would have been in the other. It may be observed, however, that if there had been a possibility of rescuing the name of Menteth from the execrations of his country, the task would not have remained for the learned annalist to perform. The great family interest which he possessed, was sufficient to protect him from punishment, not only for his treachery to Wallace, but also for his subsequent perfidy to Bruce. Yet though that interest was powerfully exerted to screen him from the consequences of his demerits, not a single effort was made to remove the dishonourable stain from his character.

The following transaction, which has already been alluded to, is quite consistent with the conduct ascribed to him by the Minstrel. It will also account for the impunity which attended his crimes.

"About this time, there happened a passage not unworthy to be related, in regard to the variety of providences, in a narrow compass of time. John Menteth, who betrayed his friend Wallace to the English, and was therefore deservedly hated by the Scots, received, amongst other rewards, the government of Dumbarton castle from the English. When other forts were recovered, that only, or but very few with it, held out for the English. And because it was naturally impregnable, the king dealt with the governor, by his friends and kindred, to surrender it. He demanded the county or earldom of Lennox, as the price of his treachery and surrender. Neither would he ever so much as hear of any other terms. In this case the King wavered and fluctuated in his mind what to do. On the one side, he earnestly desired to have the castle; yet, on the other, he did not so much prize it, as for its sake to disoblige the Earl of Lennox, who had been his fast and almost his only friend in all his calamities. But the Earl of Lennox hearing of it, and coming in, soon decided the controversy, and persuaded the King, by all means to accept the condition. Accordingly the bargain was made as John Menteth would have it, and solemnly confirmed. But when the King was going to take possession of the Castle, a carpenter, one Roland, met him in the wood of Colghoun, about a mile from it; and having obtained liberty to speak with the King, concerning a matter of great importance, he told him what treachery the governor intended against him; nay, and had prepared to execute it. It was this:—In a wine-cellar concealed, and under ground, a sufficient number of Englishmen were hid, who, when the rest of the castle should be given up, and the King secure, were to issue forth upon him as he was at dinner, and either to kill, or take him prisoner. This being thus related, the King, upon the surrender of the other parts of the castle by John, being kindly invited to a feast, refused to eat; till, as he had searched all other parts of the castle; so, he had viewed that wine-cellar also. The governor excused it, pretending that the smith, who had the key, was out of the way, but that he would come again anon. The King, not satisfied therewith, caused the door to be broke open, and so the plot was discovered. The Englishmen were brought forth in their armour, and being severally examined, confessed the whole matter; and they added also another discovery, viz. that a ship rode ready in the next bay to carry the King into England. The complices in this wretched design were put to death; but John was kept in prison, because the King was loth to offend his kindred, and especially his sons-in-law, in so dangerous a time: for he had many daughters, all of them very beautiful, and married to men rich enough, but factious. Therefore, in a time of such imminent danger, the battle drawing near wherein all was at stake, lest the mind of any powerful man might be rendered averse from him, and thereby inclined to practise against him, John was released out of prison, upon this condition (for the performance whereof his sons-in-law undertook), that he should be placed in the front of the battle, and there, by his valour, should wait the decision of

Providence. And indeed the man, otherwise fraudulent, was in this faithful to the King; for he behaved himself so valiantly, that that day's work procured him not only pardon for what was past, but large rewards for the future."—*Buchanan's Hist.* vol. i. p. 310.

It may here be mentioned, that, since the Note on page 86 was printed off, we have learned from one, whose researches, and whose connection with the name, entitle him to express an opinion, that the M'Kerlies of Wigtonshire, and not the Kers of Kersland, are the real descendants of Kerlé, or Kerlie, who, with Sir William Wallace and Stephen of Ireland, carried by assault the Fort of the Black-Rock of Cree, or Cruggleton Castle, and who was the last friend that clung to the fortunes of his master. Although the records of the burgh of Whitehorn furnish no information on the subject, being all of a date subsequent to the Reformation, it is still handed down by tradition, that the M'Kerlies were once proprietors of Cruggleton Castle, and that their ancestor was the companion of the Scottish hero.

C C.

SINGULAR LEGEND.

Page 90.

THIS monkish legend Henry has carefully preserved; and as it affords a specimen of the superstition of the age, we shall give it a place for the gratification of the curious among our readers.

"Wyss clerkys yeit it kepis in remembrans,
How that a monk off Bery abbay than,
In to that tym a rycht religious man;
A yong monk als with him in ordour stud,
Quhilk knew his lyff was elene, perfytt, and gud.
This fadyr monk was wesyd with seknace,
Outt off the ward as he suld pass on cace,
His brothyr saw the spret lykly to pass;
A band off him rycht ernystly he coud ass.
To cum agayn and schaw him off the meid,
At he suld haiff at God for his gud deid.
He grantyt him, at his prayer to preiff,
To cum agayn, gyff God wald geiff him leiff.
The spreyt, changyt outt off this wardly payn,
In that sammyn hour cum to the monk agayn.
Sic thing has beyen, and is be woice and sycht.
Quhar he apperyt, thar schawyt sa mekillycht,
Lyk till lawntryns it illumynyt so cler,
At wardly lycht that to mycht be no peyr,
A woice said thus:—"God has me grantyt grace
That I sall kep my promess in this place."
The monk was blyth off this cler fygyr fayr;
Bot a fyr brand in his forheid he bayr,
And than him thoecht it myslyklyt all the lawe.
'Quhar art thou spreyt? Ansuer, sa God the sawe.'
'In purgatory.'—"How lang sall thow be thair?"
'Bot half ane hour to com, and litill maiir.
Purgatory is, I do the weill to wit,
In ony place quhar God will it admty.
Ane hour of space I was demed thar to be;
And that passis, supposs I spek with the.
Quhy has thow that, and all the leyff so hail?"
'For off science I thoecht me maist awaill.
Quha pryds tharin, that laubour is in waist,
For science cummys bot off the haly Gaist.'
'Eftir thi hour, quhar is thi passage ewyn?'
'Quhen tym cummys,' he said, 'to lestand hewin.'

'Quhat tym is that? I pray the now declar.'
'Twa ar on lyff mon be befor me thar.'
'Quhilk twa ar thair?' The verité thow may ken,
'The fyrst has bene a gret slaar of men.
Now that him kep to martyr in London toun
On Wednyssday, befor king and commoun.
Is naysn on lyff at has sa mony slayn.'
'Brodyr,' he said, 'that tail is bot in wayn;
For slauchtry is to God abhominabill.'
Than said the spreyt, 'Forsuth this is no fabill.
He is Wallace, defendour off Scotland,
For rychtwyss war that he tok apen hand.
Thar reuchtwyssnes is lowyt our the lawe;
Tharfor in hewyn he sall that honour hawe.
Syn a pure preyst, is mekilly to commend;
He tuk in thank quhat thing that God him send.
For dayly mess, and heryng off confessionioun,
Hewin he sall haiff to lestand wayrsoun.
I am the thrid, grantyt throw Goddis grace.'
'Brothir,' he said, 'tell I this in our place,
Thai wyll bot deym, I othir dreym or ráwe.'
Than said the spreyt:—"This wetnes thow sall hawe.
Your bellys sall ryng, for ocht at ye do may,
Quhen thai hym sla, half ane hour off that day.'
And so thai did, the monk wyst quhat thaim alyt
Throuch braid Bretane, the woice tharoff was scaylyt,
The spreyt tuk leyff at Goddis will to be,
Off Wallace end to her it is peté;
And I wald nocht put men in gret dolour,
Bot lychtly pass atour his fatell hour."

Book xi. 1238—1304.

D D.

VERSES ON THE DEATH OF WALLACE.

Page 90.

THE verses on the death of Wallace, which have been attributed to John Blair, stand thus in the original:—

Invida mors tristi Gulielmum funere Vallam,
Quae cuncta tollit, sustulit:
Et tanto pro cive cinis, pro finibus urna est,
Frigusque pro lorica obit.
Ille quidem terras, loca se inferiora reliquit;
At fata factis suppressim,
Parte sui meliore solum caelumque pererrat;
Hoc spiritu, illud gloria.
At tibi si inscriptum generoso pectus honesto
Fuisse, hostis prodiit
Artibus, Angle, tuis, in penas, parcor isses,
Nec oppidatim spargeres
Membra viri sacra adyitis. Sed scin' quid in ista
Immanitate viceras?
Ut Vallae in cunctas ora sparguntur et horas
Laudes, tumque dedecus.

Abercrombie, who confounds John Blair with Arnold Blair, doubts of the above lines being composed by him. Arnold, in his *Relationes*, has certainly given nothing of his own, his brief details, as we have already observed, being merely extracts from the *Scotichronicon*; and it is more than probable, that as he borrowed from Fordun in the one instance, he might also be inclined to take the same liberty with Blair in the other. The verses are evidently the effusion of a superior mind, brooding over a recent calamity. They are attached to the end of Arnold Blair's *Relationes*, to which the date of 1327 is affixed.

THE END.



DA
783
.3
C3

Carrick, John Donald
Life of Sir William
Wallace of Elderslie
4th ed.

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
